

THE MILITANT

A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY/PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE



Who rules America?

The lessons of Watergate

How do the rich control the Democratic and Republican parties? Why do the global investments of U.S. capitalists lead to war? Is U.S. society divided into classes? For answers to these questions see special feature on 'Watergate & the Capitalist System,' pages 17-20.



All-out fight needed to win UFW boycott/12

Women's liberation & the Black struggle/23



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THE MILITANT

VOLUME 37/NUMBER 43

NOVEMBER 23, 1973

CLOSING NEWS DATE—NOV. 14, 1973

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Published weekly by The Militant Publishing Ass'n., 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014. Telephone: Editorial Office (212) 243-6392; Business Office (212) 929-3486. Southwest Bureau: 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave., Los Angeles, Calif. 90029. Telephone: (213) 463-1917.

Correspondence concerning subscriptions or changes of address should be addressed to The Militant Business Office, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N.Y. 10014.

Second-class postage paid at New York, N.Y. Subscriptions: Domestic: \$5 a year; foreign, \$8. By first-class mail: domestic and Canada, \$25; all other countries, \$41. Air printed matter: domestic and Canada, \$32; Mexico and the Caribbean, \$30; Latin America and Europe, \$40; Africa, Australia, and Asia (including USSR), \$50. Write for sealed air postage rates.

For subscriptions airmailed from New York and then posted from London directly: Britain and Ireland, £1.20 for 10 issues, £4.50 for one year; Continental Europe, £1.50 for 10 issues, £5.50 for one year. Send banker's draft directly to Pathfinder Press, 47 The Cut, London, SE1 8LL, England. Inquire for air rates from London at the same address.

Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent The Militant's views. These are expressed in editorials.

CHARGES DROPPED AGAINST FORT WORTH FIVE: Federal Judge Leo Brewster of the Northern District of Texas dismissed contempt of court charges Nov. 7 against five New York Irish-Americans. The five had refused to testify before a grand jury about alleged gunrunning to the Irish Republican Army. The five were originally jailed by Judge Brewster in June 1972. They spent 22 months in and out of Texas jails and federal prisons.

The frame-up charges were dropped simply because the term of the grand jury expired. The judge can order the five to testify again if he chooses to convene another grand jury. If the charges had not been dropped, Democratic Senator Edward Kennedy was to have argued in support of the five before the U.S. Supreme Court. The five are Kenneth Tierney, Thomas Laffey, Mathias Reilly, Paschal Morahan, and Daniel Crawford.

Los Tres free on bail

By MIGUEL PENDAS

LOS ANGELES—Los Tres del Barrio are walking the streets of Los Angeles again for the first time since they were railroaded into prison nearly two-and-a-half years ago. The three Chicano activists are now free on bail pending appeal of their 1971 conviction for shooting a federal agent posing as a heroin dealer.

Federal Judge Lawrence Lydick on Nov. 7 denied a last-minute motion by prosecutors to triple the bail for the defendants to \$150,000 each. That same day a federal magistrate dismissed another prosecution motion challenging the collateral for the bail posted by the defense.

The order to release the three ended two weeks of desperate maneuvers by the government to keep Los Tres in jail. Their attorney, Antonio Rodriguez, had first tried to post bail Oct. 24. The government sought to have the bail raised, claiming it had "confidential" information that Los Tres were planning to flee to Mexico.

The defense had been trying since May 1972 to raise the bail of \$50,000 for each of the defendants.

Two of Los Tres, Alberto Ortiz and John Fernández, arrived here Nov. 8. By the following afternoon they were addressing a Chicano student rally at Cal State Los Angeles.

On the evening of Nov. 9, this writer accompanied 75 defense committee activists and supporters to the airport to welcome the third defendant, Rudolfo Sánchez, who had been held in the Atlanta penitentiary. It was a joyous moment for everyone. Supporters applauded and chanted all the way out of the airport.

The defense committee is seeking broad support for Los Tres. The committee is interested in bringing the story of Los Tres to union meetings, the Chicano community, and students across the country. They have set a goal of gathering 100,000 signatures on petitions demanding that charges be dropped.

To contact the committee, write National Committee to Free Los Tres, 4400 S. Huntington Dr., Los Angeles, Calif. 90032.

COURT KNOCKS 11 YEARS OFF SOSTRE SENTENCE: The courts of New York continue their persecution of Martin Sostre. The Appellate Division of State Supreme Court on Oct. 31 upheld his 1968 conviction on a phony sale of narcotics and assault of a police officer.

Out of nine points in a 200-page legal brief, the judges responded only to the 41-year sentence Sostre was serving, and ordered it reduced to 25 to 30 years "in the interest of justice." But because they let stand a 30-day contempt sentence—Sostre was held in contempt for stating that he had "the constitutional right to an unbiased judge"—he will actually have to serve 30 years and 30 days, since a contempt charge precludes parole. Sostre plans to appeal this decision.

Federal Judge John Curtin holds the key to Sostre's freedom. Curtin has not yet ruled on a writ of habeas corpus stemming from the admission by witness Arto Williams in May that he framed Sostre by planting drugs in Sostre's Afro-Asian Bookstore. The Martin Sostre Defense Committee is asking that letters go to Judge Curtin, U.S. Courthouse, Buffalo, N.Y. 14202, urging that he drop all charges and free Sostre.

According to the committee, Sostre, who is in solitary in Clinton Prison, is being repeatedly beaten by guards.

J. B. JOHNSON DENIED HEARING: "Free J. B. Johnson," chanted an angry picket line of 85 people circling the St. Louis County courthouse in Clayton, Mo. The protest occurred Nov. 9 after the cancellation of a hearing on motions for a new trial.

Johnson, a 23-year-old Afro-American, was framed and convicted as an accomplice in a jewelry store holdup that

led to the death of a white cop on Jan. 23, 1970. He is serving a "natural life" sentence after a trial by an all-white suburban jury.

Robert Lee Walker, the man convicted of shooting the cop, released a 26-page affidavit last August swearing that he had never heard of or seen Johnson until months after his own arrest.

Johnson's lawyers, Lou Gilden and William Kunstler, filed the affidavit with the original trial judge, Herbert Lasky, as the basis for a new trial. But Lasky decided not to act and canceled the Nov. 9 hearing.

During the week of Nov. 9, activists in the Committee to Defend J. B. Johnson distributed nearly 3,000 leaflets outside the huge General Motors assembly plant. They returned on payday and collected \$170 from workers toward an appeal of Johnson's conviction. The appeal will be filed with the Missouri Supreme Court in January.

BLACK LEADER TRIED ON FIREARMS CHARGE: Bob Lee Williams, a leader of the Cairo, Ill., United Front, is being tried for the third time for alleged violation of the 1964 Federal Firearms Act. Two previous convictions on the same charges have been overruled by the U.S. Supreme Court, but the government persists in retrying the case.

The prosecution claims Williams purchased two rifles while a convicted felon, despite the fact that his conviction was overruled. Williams was a leader in the struggle for jobs in Cairo as well as of the armed self-defense organized by the Black community against white racist attacks.

JOURNALIST JAILED FOR STRIKE SUPPORT: Former Los Angeles Free Press reporter Ron Ridenour has been jailed on trumped-up charges stemming from his participation in a picket line by striking Chicana garment workers in November 1970.

The California Supreme Court refused to hear his appeal when Ridenour's attorney failed to comply with some legal technicalities.

However, the city attorney's office has dropped its efforts to pursue a second frame-up of Ridenour, stemming from an incident in which he had photographed police beating a paraplegic Vietnam war veteran during an antiwar protest.

Ridenour is now serving the six-month sentence nights and weekends, and is planning to take the appeal to federal courts. He is allowed to work weekdays.

CIRCULATION OF THE RADICAL PRESS: The average paid circulation of *The Militant* over the past year has been 31,399 copies per issue. This is an increase of 6,794 from the 1972 average. The circulation of the Communist Party's *Daily World* is 35,561, an increase of 9,467. The CP's West Coast paper, the *People's World*, averages 8,097 copies, up by 882. The Maoist *Guardian* has a circulation of 19,410, an increase of only 923.

Since 1969 *The Militant's* circulation has increased by 310 percent; the *Daily World's* has increased by 250 percent; while the *Guardian's* has dropped to 72 percent of its 1969 level.

—DERRICK MORRISON

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TODOS DIFERENTES
TODOS UNIDOS

RAZA UNIDA PARTY



LA RAZA UNIDA PARTY: For an answer to the charge that the Texas Raza Unida Party was in the pay of the Republicans in 1972, see page 21. For continuing coverage of efforts to build this independent Chicano party, subscribe to *The Militant*.

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Election returns show voters disgusted with W'gate politics

By LARRY SEIGLE

Last week's election returns gave the Nixon gang little cause for celebration. And while the Democrats seemed the winners, they aren't overjoyed either. Politicians of both capitalist parties realize they have suffered a loss of confidence among the American people.

On Nov. 6 voters expressed their disgust with Nixon and other Republicans in particular, and with Watergate and capitalist politicians in general.

Blacks made clear their growing determination to find a way to win political power for Black communities.

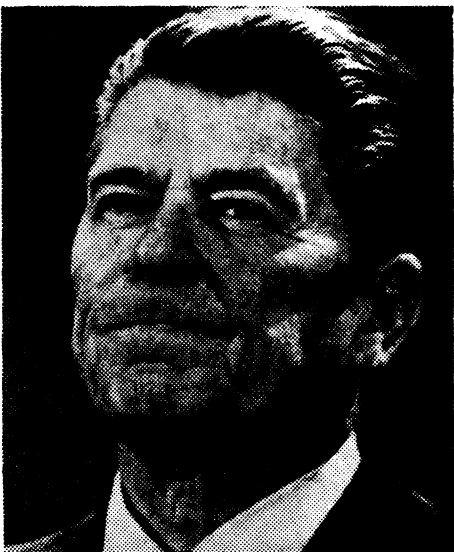
And, where they had a choice, voters rejected candidates and measures identified with the retrogressive, racist Nixonite program of cutting back on social welfare spending. Attempts to rally Nixon's so-called silent majority were repudiated.

Here's what happened:

- In New Jersey, a right-wing Republican was swamped by a "liberal" Democrat in the governor's race. Democrats took over the state legislature for only the third time this century. The Republican, Charles Sandman, echoed many of the social themes popularized by Nixon and Agnew, appealing to racist prejudices and other backward sentiments.

For example, Sandman tried to rally support by mobilizing "Right to Life" Catholic groups who accused his opponent, Democrat Brendan Byrne, of being pro-abortion.

Trying to capitalize on Watergate, Byrne presented himself as a nonpolitician, stressing the fact that he had never before run for public office.



Defeat in California of reactionary tax scheme, which would have led to more cuts in social services, was blow to presidential hopeful Reagan.

- In Virginia, in the only other governor's race, Republican Mills Godwin barely squeaked by his opponent, Henry Howell, who ran as an independent "populist." Both candidates were ex-Democrats. Howell emphasized support from unionists and Blacks, and tried to link Godwin to the politics of Watergate. Godwin responded, as the Nov. 19 issue of *Time* put it, "by stressing the separation of party from White House, and by not bringing Nixon or any other Republican bigwig into the state."

Black political power

- Black voters in Detroit, a city now 50 percent Black, turned out in a solid bloc behind the Black Democratic mayoral candidate, Coleman Young (see story, page 5). Ex-police



Philadelphia's right-wing Mayor Rizzo with his mentor. Rizzo, an ex-cop, saw his hand-picked candidates defeated Nov. 6 as voters across country rejected 'law & order' line.

chief and right-winger John Nichols was the loser.

The Detroit returns were a powerful demonstration of both the potential political power of the Black community and the strong nationalist sentiment for Black political representation. Unfortunately, this power remains subordinated to the Democratic Party, which can't solve the problems confronting Blacks in Detroit—or any other city.

But Black voters in Detroit know it was their votes that put a Black Democrat into office. This will strengthen the arguments of those who point out that, by breaking from the Democratic Party, Black voters could elect leaders truly responsible to the Black community, and not to the party of the exploiters of that community. The Democratic Party needs Black people and workers, not vice versa.

Young's victory follows on the heels of the election of Maynard Jackson as the first Black mayor of Atlanta and Black Democrat Thomas Bradley's victory in Los Angeles last spring.

Black mayors were also elected last week in several cities where Blacks are a minority. These were: Raleigh, N. C., 23 percent Black; Dayton, Ohio, 30 percent; and Grand Rapids, Mich., 11 percent.

Reagan tax scheme

- California voters decisively rejected a reactionary tax scheme that would have led to cutbacks in social welfare spending through putting a "ceiling" on state spending. The campaign for the proposition was well financed, slick, and personally led by the Republican governor and presidential hopeful, Ronald Reagan.

The measure was presented as a way to lower taxes (on the ballot it was titled "Tax Reduction"). But opponents pointed out that it would reduce state spending on medical care, child-care, aid to the aged and disabled, and higher education. The victims would clearly have been Blacks and other oppressed nationalities, the working people, the unemployed, and the poor of California.

Despite the absence of an effective campaign to oppose the measure, which was couched in deliberately confusing wording, voters saw through the phony "tax-cut" angle.

The proposition was widely understood to be a personal effort by Reagan in his pitch for the presidential

nomination in 1976. He wanted to demonstrate the viability of his reactionary program for winning elections. Reagan told Californians to "sound a cry that will be heard all the way to those puzzle palaces on the Potomac." The message was sent all right, but it wasn't exactly what Reagan had in mind.

The other major statewide proposition, New York's transportation bond, was also defeated. Upstate areas, as expected, voted against the measure, but the heavy "yes" vote needed in New York City to counteract the upstate vote failed to materialize. Too many people saw through the bond issue propaganda, correctly rejecting it as a ripoff for the big financial institutions of New York, despite a scare campaign about immediate subway and bus fare boosts if the measure lost. Governor Nelson Rockefeller, who, like Reagan, dreams about moving into the White House, was the prime mover behind the bond issue.

- In city after city, the right-wing cops-turned-politicians were turned out of office. Latching on to the Nixonite "law and order" theme, ex-cops began

entering mayoralty races two and four years ago.

But last week, they were the losers. In Minneapolis and Detroit, ex-police chiefs were defeated in mayoral contests. In Philadelphia, Mayor Frank Rizzo (a 1972 star of the Democrats-for-Nixon cast) saw his hand-picked candidates for district attorney and city controller soundly whipped. And even in the dismal New York City race, devoid of interest and issues so far as the capitalist candidates were concerned, Mario Biaggi, the one ex-killer-cop of the bunch, finished dead last out of four capitalist politicians.

A distorted picture

Capitalist elections, especially those in the United States, give only a very distorted measure of political moods. For one thing, the electorate is more conservative than the population as a whole. A recent Census Bureau study, reported in the Nov. 5 *New York Times*, found that "higher levels of registration and voting were reported associated with persons who were male, white, 35 to 64, high school graduates, members of families with incomes over \$10,000 a year and in white-collar occupations."

The results are further distorted because, in the absence of a mass independent party of the working people, such as exist in most capitalist countries, it's difficult and often impossible for voters to register opposition to the government by picking among the various Democrats or Republicans. Because the capitalist parties maintain a monopoly on the elections, they can conspire together to bury all the issues and concentrate instead on "personality."

For example, one of the overriding concerns of American workers is the continuing inflation and the government pressure against catch-up wage increases. But the economic policy, including the wage controls, is a *bi-partisan* policy, supported by all capitalist politicians.

Under these conditions, one of the ways people register their dissatisfaction is by staying home. In most cities, the voter turnout was very low. In New York City fewer people voted

Continued on page 26

Socialist Workers Party vote

Socialist Workers Party candidates for municipal office waged exciting and successful campaigns in cities from coast to coast. But the election boards, controlled by the capitalist parties, are never in a rush to tabulate the socialist vote. Most returns are not yet available.

We have received some results, however.

In Houston, where the candidates in the "nonpartisan" race were not identified by party affiliation, SWP city council candidate Brenda Brdar received 11,672 votes, 7.0 percent of the total. Kathy Stallworth, also running for city council, got 9,144 votes, 5.0 percent.

Houston SWP school board candidate Peter Gellert received 7,589 votes, 5.1 percent of the total. And the other SWP candidate for school board, Kris Vásquez, polled 7,054 votes, 4.9 percent of the total. Vásquez, according to a *Houston Post* vote analysis, finished first in 12

precincts in the Chicano community, and tallied 35 percent of the Chicano vote. Hers was the only Chicano name on the ballot.

Dan Fein, socialist mayoral candidate, received 369 votes in a race in which there was great pressure to vote for a liberal, "lesser-evil" candidate, Fred Hofheinz.

On Long Island, N. Y., SWP candidate for Nassau County executive, Frank Manning, polled 1,372 votes, 0.3 percent of the total.

In Minneapolis, Jane Van Deusen, socialist candidate for mayor, tallied 642 votes, 0.5 percent, and Martin Anderson, city council candidate in Ward 2, polled 122 votes, 1.2 percent.

Boston SWP city council candidate John Powers polled 10,700 votes (2.4 percent) in the officially "nonpartisan" contest.

The Militant will report the votes in other cities as they become available.

What the New York socialist mayoral campaign achieved

By JOANNA MISNIK

NEW YORK—Two hundred supporters of the New York Socialist Workers Party ticket gathered at the Hotel Diplomat on election night to celebrate the culmination of a successful campaign for 10 socialist candidates.

The celebration was attended by participants in the struggles that Norman Oliver and the other SWP candidates had championed throughout the campaign. Those who attended included Arab students, United Farm Worker activists, women involved in the unionization drive at Columbia University, activists in defense of Chilean political prisoners, and students from the city's major campuses. Musical entertainment was provided by The Iguana, a rock band, and Mulligan's Stew, an Irish folksinging duo.

When the returns were in, Democrat Abe Beame had become New York's 104th mayor, receiving almost 57 percent of the vote. But voter turnout was the lowest in any mayoral election since 1929.

Because of a determined fight by the Puerto Rican community to ensure that new city council district lines did not chop up predominantly Puerto Rican areas, two Puerto Rican councilmen were elected for the first time. The number of Black council members increased from two to four. Norman Oliver participated in the effort to demand from the city council more democratic representation for Blacks and Puerto Ricans.

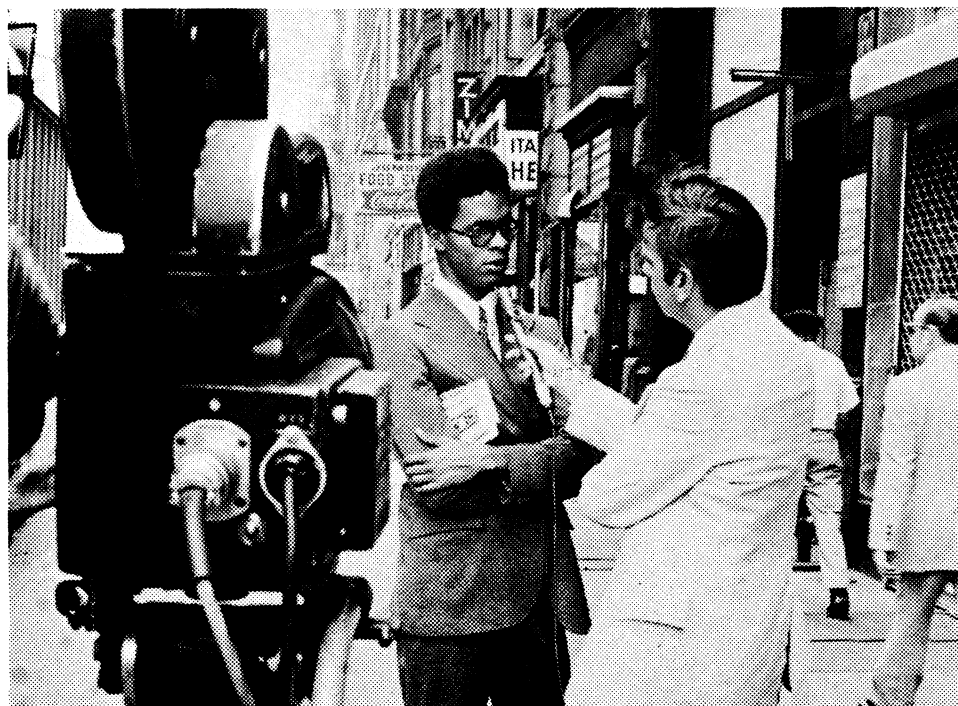
The low voter turnout was a result of widespread cynicism about capitalist politicians generated by Watergate, combined in the New York elections with what media commentators often referred to as the "dullest race in memory." The capitalist party politicians maintained a perfect track record of refusing to discuss the real issues plaguing New York's working people.

In contrast, the SWP candidates campaigned vigorously, speaking directly to these issues and offering socialist solutions. SWP candidates walked the picket lines with supporters of the United Farm Workers Union, with striking hospital workers, with Puerto Rican and Black parents in school District 1, with gay activists seeking passage of Intro 475, and with tenants demanding rent control.

The socialist nominees also joined in action with students fighting to save free tuition at the city university, with those seeking freedom for Puerto Rican political prisoner Carlos Feliciano, with women protesting day-care cutbacks, with Dominicans and Haitians fighting Immigration Service harassment, with Blacks in Queens protesting the murder of 13-year-old Clifford Glover by a white cop. Also with those demanding an end to repression in Chile, and with supporters of the just struggle of the Arab people against Zionist aggression.

On election night Norman Oliver, far from conceding defeat, pledged that the SWP will continue to participate in struggles for social justice. He announced that the SWP would field candidates in the 1974 elections for U.S. Senate, Congress, and for governor of New York.

The SWP campaigned aggressively, while the four capitalist party candidates maintained a low profile, especially on the campuses. Toward the end of the campaign, Liberal Party mayoral hopeful Al Blumenthal made a few sallies forward onto the campus



Norman Oliver, socialist candidate for mayor, being interviewed by WCB-TV. SWP reached millions of New Yorkers through media coverage of campaign.

to say something about Watergate. By that time, the SWP candidates had spoken to 2,000 students on 17 college 13 high school campuses. The majority of the more than 300 people who endorsed the campaign were met at these meetings.

SWP candidates spoke at 23 community meetings to a total of 2,300 people. An energetic program of street tables and rallies saw supporters on the streets each Saturday. In the course of the campaign, 237,000 printed pieces of literature were distributed as well as 100,000 mimeographed pieces.

During the fall, SWP candidates appeared on TV shows for a total of eight and a half hours and radio shows for six and a half hours, as well as a host of shorter segments on news broadcasts and editorial replies.

Throughout this activity, SWP candidates urged a "No" vote on the \$3.5-billion transportation bond issue. The bond was defeated statewide, although New York City voted 56 percent in favor.

The socialist candidates opposed the bond issue because it was a swindle designed to rake off the tax dollars of working people into the coffers of the banks through billions in tax-free interest on the bonds. The SWP called instead for taxing the banks and corporations to provide free subway service.

The SWP consistently opposed all the candidates of the capitalist parties. In contrast, the Communist Party's candidates persisted in defending their support to Democrat Herman Badillo, who lost in the primary.

SWP campaign supporters were able to engage many CP supporters and other radical-minded people in discussions about electoral strategy, especially around the SWP's "Open Letter to the Communist Party."

This letter urged a vote for three CP candidates who were running where there were no SWP candidates. It explained that the SWP was calling for a vote for these CP candidates despite the CP's program. It said that the CP is a tendency in the working-class movement, and a vote for its candidates would be seen as a vote against the capitalist parties. The letter also urged CP members to support SWP candidates against capitalist politicians where the CP wasn't running.

The CP never responded to this let-

ter, although some individual CP supporters expressed agreement with it. One such individual was the chairman of a Nov. 2 forum at the West Side Marxist Center, where John Gallo, CP candidate for Manhattan council-at-large, spoke on CP electoral strategy.

This writer asked Gallo to respond to the Open Letter. He refused, and a discussion ensued during which Rick Nagin, CP campaign manager, angrily jumped up and charged the SWP with being "nothing more than a sect."

The chairman called Nagin to order, saying, "we'll have none of that here." He went on to explain that the CP and SWP had sometimes been able to work together in the antiwar movement and that this kind of cooperation should be sought again.

The CP's support to Democrats appeared in a glaring way in Council District 3, where SWP candidate Eva Chertov opposed Democrat Miriam Freidlander and Liberal Hank McManus. Chertov was the only candidate who fully supported the struggle of Black, Puerto Rican, and Chinese parents to control their children's education.

The CP, while claiming to support the pro-community-control parents in their fight against racism in the schools, wrote several glowing articles about Democrat Freidlander in the *Daily World*. Freidlander, who won the council seat, called pro-community-control parents "divisive" and, while mouthing phrases against discrimination, did everything she could to ignore this number-one issue in the district.

Her Liberal Party opponent McManus, in a last-ditch move to shake Freidlander's certain victory, saw to it that a leaflet naming Freidlander as a Luis Fuentes supporter was circulated in the area. Freidlander angrily charged McManus with "Watergating" and denied that she supported Fuentes and the pro-community-control struggle in any way.

Vote tallies for the New York City SWP are not yet available. Many voters reported great difficulty voting for the SWP either because of the crowded ballot with 13 parties cluttered together or because machines jammed on the independent side of the ballot. Frank Manning, SWP candidate for Nassau County executive on Long Island, received 1,372 votes, 900 more than the SWP vote for that office in 1970.

Pittsburgh stalls on SWP vote tally

By BRETT MERKEY

PITTSBURGH—The Socialist Workers Party write-in campaign ended here election day, but there is still no word on the socialist vote. Paul Le Blanc, SWP candidate for mayor, was the only opposition faced by incumbent Pete Flaherty, who was the candidate of the Democratic, Republican, and Constitutional parties.

The SWP also ran two candidates for city council, Christina Adachi and Andrew Nakrin.

At one polling place near the U. of Pittsburgh, it was learned that the socialist candidates received 10 percent of the vote. However, there have also been many reports of write-in votes not being counted.

Although officials at the board of elections assured a caller that the SWP's votes would be tabulated "within two weeks," the news media reported the board had decided not to bother because "the number of votes they got was so miniscule." It was not explained how it could be determined that the vote was "miniscule" before it had even been tabulated!

At a pre-election rally Nov. 3, a number of Pittsburgh activists explained why they were voting for the SWP candidates. Speakers included Fabienne Rothkrug, a student supporter of the United Farm Workers boycott; David Houston of the New American Movement; and José Moreno, a member of the U. of Pittsburgh faculty and organizer of an ad hoc committee on Chile.

Moreno characterized the socialist candidates as "indicative of the new breed coming to the fore in America today. The SWP is giving direction to the new expectations and desires of working people."

During the six-week campaign effort, supporters distributed more than 20,000 pieces of literature. The candidates reached thousands of people at rallies, forums, and other events. The SWP platform was aired on three television appearances and on several news spots on four radio stations. An average of three news items a week on the campaign was printed in local city, underground, and campus papers.

The SWP candidates also received the endorsement of the Black Action Society at the U. of Pittsburgh. And 11 faculty members including the head of the history department, signed a letter of support, which appeared in the *Pitt News*, the campus newspaper.

The last major activity of the campaign was the distribution of 500 leaflets to workers entering the Jones and Laughlin Steel Works on Pittsburgh's south side at 7 a.m. on election day. Headlined "Don't Waste Your Vote on Flaherty," the leaflet related the problems of steelworkers to corporate domination of the economy and the major political parties.



Militant/Mark Satinoff

SWP candidates Adachi, Le Blanc, and Nakrin address Chile protest meeting at U. of Pittsburgh.

Young is first Black mayor

Detroit election shows power of Black vote

By CAROLINE LUND

DETROIT—After a heated campaign, Black Democrat Coleman Young defeated former Detroit police chief John Nichols in the mayoral race here by a narrow margin of 231,786 to 217,479.

Young will be the first Black mayor of this city, which is now 50 percent Black. Four of the nine newly elected city council members are also Black.

Young's victory demonstrates the power of the Black vote. For the first time in Detroit history Black voters outnumbered whites at the polls, by 228,800 to 220,000. As recently as 1969, the Black-white voter ratio was only 40 to 60.

According to a *Detroit News* analysis of the returns, 92 percent of Black voters supported Young.

Nichols accused Young of "fanning the racial flames" because of his appeal for Black votes and because the strong support for Young in the Black community was a visible expression of the desire of Blacks for political power.

Nichols was police superintendent throughout the operations of the STRESS unit ("Stop the Robberies, Enjoy Safe Streets"). This terror outfit of undercover cops was responsible for killing 18 Detroit citizens—17 of them Black—during the past two years.

The *News* credited Nichols with 91 percent of the white vote.

Despite the heat of the campaign, however, only 56 percent of registered voters turned out, with almost the same percentage voting in the white and Black communities. This compared with a 70 percent turnout in 1969.

City Clerk George Edwards attributed the low participation to the impact of the Nixon administration's Watergate scandal. Edwards said, "I

struggle by channeling it into the Democratic Party through electing Black politicians.

Power of Black community

The implications of Young's successful campaign were two-sided, however. On the one hand, the campaign succeeded in diverting the discontent of the Black community into support for the capitalist two-party political setup.



YOUNG: 'Blacks should stay within the system.'

But on the other hand, it was an example of the strategic power of the Black community in united action.

Young himself tried to downplay this implication of the victory of the Black voters and discourage Blacks from expecting any immediate change in their condition: "There is a minority in this city who see this victory as a chance to strike back for 300 years of oppression." He added, "Anyone who sees the election in those terms must be smoking pot."

Coleman Young is known as a figure in both the civil rights movement and the labor movement. He was a union organizer for the CIO in the 1930s. During the second world war he was jailed briefly for participating in a protest against racial discrimination against Black military officers.

In 1948 he supported Henry Wallace's Progressive Party. And in 1952 he was called before the witch-hunting House Un-American Activities Committee (HUAC). He won a seat in the Michigan state senate in 1964, and is currently on the Democratic Party national committee.

Black, labor support

Young was endorsed as part of a "Black slate" put forward by the Black Christian Nationalist Church, led by civil rights and Black nationalist figure Reverend Albert Cleage.

In addition, United Farm Workers Union President César Chávez came to Detroit and toured the city's Chicano neighborhoods with Young asking Chicanos to support him.

The Metropolitan AFL-CIO and the United Auto Workers endorsed Young, but only after the union federation's first choice—white liberal city councilman Mel Ravitz—was defeated in the primary in September. The endorsement of Ravitz in the primary provoked a walkout by Black delegates at a regional meeting of the UAW's political arm.

In meetings at the beginning of his campaign, especially before Black audiences, Young felt compelled to condemn some of the crimes of the police in Detroit's Black community.

For instance, he told the *Detroit News*, "There's some reason to believe the free flow of drugs through our streets—and it does flow freely—does not take place without cooperation of

some elements of our Police Department."

He charged Nichols with covering up incidents of police brutality toward Black families, and charged that "police today are coming to work to do war on the streets with our citizens," citing illegal police use of soft-nose (dumdum) bullets.

Young moves to right

As the campaign progressed, however, the apparent difference between Young and Nichols narrowed dramatically, as both began to concentrate almost exclusively on the "issue" of crime.

In the closing weeks of the campaign, Young was in fact attacking the former police chief from the right on this issue, claiming that Nichols had shown he couldn't clamp down on crime during his two years as Detroit's top cop.

The main TV ad for Young showed a sinister figure loading a handgun, with the narrator saying something like, "We live in constant fear of crime in the streets, in our homes. . . . Our ex-top cop had the chance to do something about it. He didn't do it."

The picture then faded to Coleman Young, who says, "No criminal, black or white, can expect special favors of me."

Young's only "solution" to the crime bred by the poverty and alienation of capitalist society was to put 1,000 more cops on the beat. He also proposed the use of rubber bullets and water cannon "that can break up the angriest mobs."

Position on STRESS

An important issue early in the campaign was the STRESS police unit. The police department was forced to take this undercover squad off the streets last spring in the face of growing protests from the Black community.

While Coleman Young criticized the record of STRESS for unnecessary killings of Black people, he declared his intention to increase the use of police decoy units, a system that was the very essence of the STRESS operations.

Former police commissioner Nichols

defended the record of STRESS and made it clear that the unit would probably be resurrected if he were elected.

Neither Nichols nor Young presented any program for solving the most urgent problems that face Detroit citizens, such as deteriorating schools, 25 to 30 percent unemployment in the Black community, dilapidated housing, rising prices. Their only proposals for dealing with such problems were for concessions to try to attract businesses back into the center city and increase the tax base.

Neither candidate took any position on the recent strike by Detroit teachers for higher pay and smaller class sizes.

Socialist candidate

The only candidate who presented answers to these social problems was

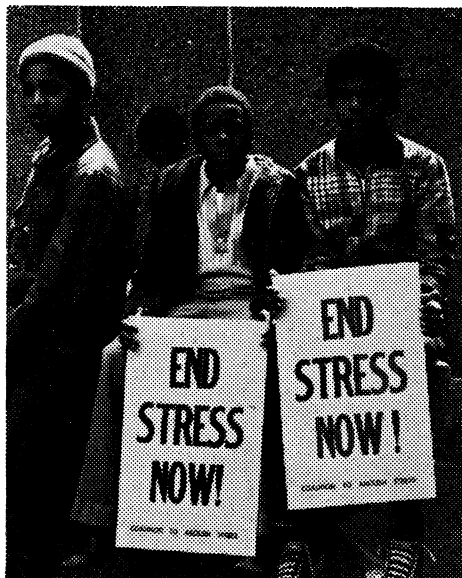


DIXON: 'Democratic Party a dead end for Blacks.'

23-year-old Maceo Dixon, the mayoral candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. Dixon, however, was ruled off the ballot as "too young" and was forced to run a write-in campaign. The socialist candidate was thus denied even the pretense of equal opportunities to put forth his views in the mass media or to confront Young and Nichols in debates.

His challenge to the age requirement was vindicated, however, when Detroit voters approved a new city charter in the Nov. 6 elections that would

Continued on page 26



Militant/Gene Yzquierdo

Despite protests by Blacks against STRESS police unit, Young supports use of police decoys and entrapment.

think many people—white, yellow, black, brown, whatever—are saying 'A pox on all your houses, all you politicians are grabbers and corrupt. . . .'

In his campaign, Coleman Young attempted to counter this well-grounded skepticism of the capitalist electoral system in the Black community. He said a goal of his campaign was to prove to Blacks that they "will not have to go outside the system in order to have some control over their own destiny."

In this theme the Young campaign was an example of the attempts by the ruling class to contain the Black

Why capitalists backed Young

Coleman Young clearly had the backing of many of Detroit's most wealthy businessmen who were concerned about the explosive implications of the Black struggle getting out of the control of the Democratic Party.

Many of Detroit's power brokers had tried to head off a contest between Young and ex-police chief John Nichols. They pushed the candidacy of Mel Ravitz, a liberal Democrat who is city council president. But Ravitz was eliminated from the race, finishing a poor third in the primary.

On Oct. 23 Young climaxed what the *Detroit News* called his "three-month courtship of Detroit's Establishment" with a \$100-a-head cocktail party for 300 of the city's highest corporate officials. Organizers of the event included William Gossett, a former Ford Motor Company vice-president; William Zeltzer, president of the American Savings Association; E. Harwood Rydholm, a Chrysler Corporation vice-president; Leon Cohan, general counsel for the Detroit Edison Company; and representatives of the Bur-

roughs Corporation, General Motors, and other banks and businesses.

In its report on the meeting, the *Detroit News* reported that "Young, like Nichols, has spent many hours in board rooms, private clubs and executive offices outlining his proposals for Detroit and answering questions from men whose names appear at the very top of company stationery."

An unnamed vice-president of a Detroit financial institution told the *News*, "Our people sat down privately with the senator [Young] and decided he was not the wild-eyed radical he'd been painted to be. A few came away impressed."

The board chairman of another Detroit firm said Young had impressed the capitalists with his "flexibility and understanding of the problems while Nichols, a damn fine police officer, seemed more rigid."

Preliminary financial reports by Young and Nichols revealed that 11 top capitalists, including Henry Ford II, had contributed equal amounts to both candidates.

'We need lots of picket lines'

UFW leaders call for stepped-up boycott

By MIRTA VIDAL

"Reason and logic don't work with the chain stores. We need lots of picket lines to hurt them economically," said Dolores Huerta, United Farm Workers Union vice-president, at a recent news conference in New York City.

Huerta outlined plans for increased boycott activities in the New York area, including a mass rally Nov. 29 at Hunter College. César Chávez, president of the UFW, will address the rally.

The boycott of non-UFW grapes and lettuce is being stepped up following the announcement that the Teamsters union bureaucrats have reneged on earlier agreements with the UFW. The Teamster officials had reportedly agreed in September to repudiate their sweetheart contracts with California

For editorial on tasks facing supporters of boycott movement, see page 12.

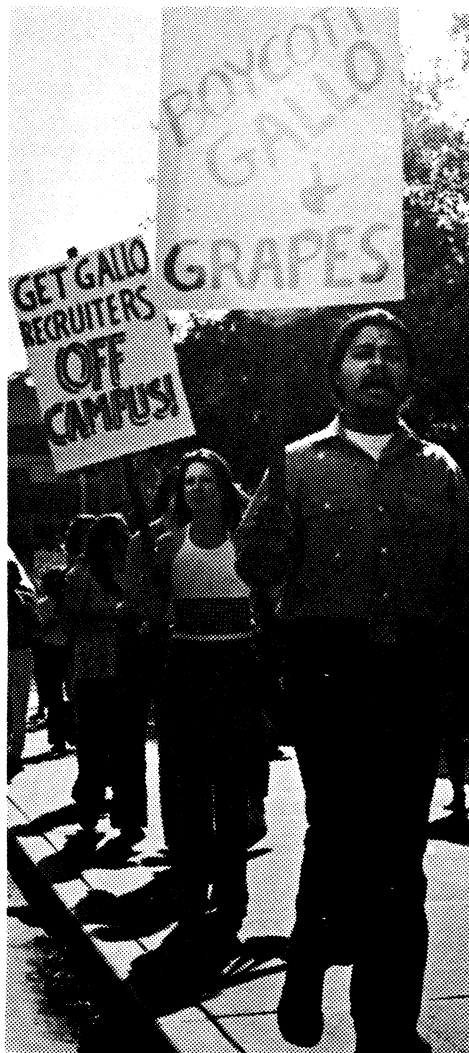
growers, signed to help the growers destroy the UFW.

At a news conference in Los Angeles on Nov. 10, César Chávez announced that negotiations with the Teamsters were off. He called for renewed boycott activity.

Speaking to 600 cheering supporters at a rally later that day, Chávez said: "There is so much support here in Los Angeles for the farm workers' cause, but we have a long way to go to organize it into the boycotts. We must get that support because the people who get food to you must now have food for themselves."

In Urbana, Ill., the city council recently passed a resolution supporting the UFW boycott. The resolution directed the city not to buy non-UFW produce, and to prohibit such produce from being served at city functions.

The action prompted J. Winslow Smith, president of Eisner's food stores, to go before a meeting of the city council Nov. 5 to argue against the decision. Eisner's stores are being



UCLA students picket Gallo recruiter. Gallo wines, a major buyer of non-UFW grapes, is boycott target.

picketed by UFW supporters for carrying scab grapes and lettuce.

Smith argued that "to deny our customers their freedom of choice would be an illegitimate decision-making process." Smith's lies about the farm workers' struggle were then refuted by Mark Ahlberg of the Champaign-Urbana Committee to Support the Farm Workers. The council decision stands.

Store owners are becoming concerned about the potential effects of

a well-organized boycott of non-UFW produce. With the help of local police and courts, some merchants of scab produce are turning to harassment and intimidation of picketers.

In Detroit the UFW has been ordered by a local court to halt all picketing of Boreman's Inc.-owned stores for the next 30 days. Boreman's owns the Farmer Jack supermarket chain of 84 stores in Wayne, Oakland, and Macomb counties. Farmer Jack sells more scab grapes than any other chain of stores in the area.

Some 250 to 300 people had been participating in the picket lines. The UFW is appealing this blatantly illegal restraining order.

In Boston, where picketing has succeeded in getting every major supermarket chain except A&P to stop selling scab produce, the UFW faces a court injunction brought by supermarket chains in the New England area to prevent picketing.

A&P store managers in Boston have been hiring goons provided by the Teamster bureaucracy to patrol the front of the stores and harass picketers. They are also trying to pit their own clerks against the picketers by cutting down their hours, claiming a loss of business has been caused by the picketing.

The UFW intends to include assault charges in an already planned suit against A&P. They are also planning to respond with stepped-up picketing and a mass rally at the A&P headquarters on Nov. 21.

In Scarsdale, N. Y., a UFW member was arrested Nov. 9 while picketing

a supermarket. The worker, Mary Burnier, said she intends to sue the chain for false arrest.

As a result of a campaign by UFW supporters at the University of Illinois in Chicago, the Chicago Circle Center Board has voted to discontinue the use of iceberg lettuce by the university food service. The decision came after UFW supporters there collected 1,600 signatures in a week and a half of petitioning. They spoke to more than 60 classes, reaching thousands of students.

Similar successes in kicking scab produce off campus have been registered by UFW support committees at Wayne State University in Detroit and Cleveland State University and Case Western Reserve University in Cleveland.

The campus boycott committees in Cleveland now plan to organize classroom meetings for UFW representatives and regular boycott publicity in the campus newspapers.

The boycott of Gallo wines is picking up steam. On Oct. 30, more than 50 students picketed the Placement Center at the University of California at Los Angeles to protest the presence of a Gallo representative to recruit prospective salesmen for that company. Students to Support the Farmworkers will also seek to have Gallo advertisements removed from the UCLA newspaper, the *Daily Bruin*.

Students at Wayne State University in Detroit held a picket line recently outside the offices of the *South End*, the student newspaper there, protesting their printing a Gallo wine ad.

JUST PUBLISHED

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By Jose G. Perez

25 cents

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Now demand implementation

S.F. voters approve child-care initiative

By SYLVIA WEINSTEIN

SAN FRANCISCO—Working people won a victory here in the Nov. 6 elections with the passage of Proposition M, the child-care initiative. The proposition won by 96,210 to 79,965 votes.

Proposition M stated: "It shall be the policy of the people of the City and County of San Francisco that low cost, quality child care be made available to all San Francisco children. Child care shall include infant care, pre-school and after school programs. Policy shall be made by the parents and faculties at each center. Funding shall be procured by the City and County of San Francisco."

Child care became a big issue here last spring when the federal government announced plans to slash funds for day-care centers. California has more public centers than any other state except New York.

Following several large protest actions against the proposed cutbacks, a coalition called Child and Parent Action (CAPA) was formed to place the issue on the ballot. CAPA activists gathered more than 20,000 signatures during the summer to qualify Proposition M for the ballot.

Participants in CAPA include par-

ents, women's liberation activists, and members of the National Organization for Women (NOW), the San Francisco Federation of Teachers, and the Socialist Workers Party.

CAPA carried out an aggressive campaign for the proposition. It organized picket lines against Caspar Weinberger, secretary of Health, Education and Welfare (HEW), and sent out speakers to explain the child-care issue to voters. Many of these speakers were women who depend on day-care centers since they are the sole supporters of their families.

Near election time, CAPA organized a picket line of 300 children, dressed in Halloween costumes, who demonstrated in front of the HEW building at the civic center. Their demand was "Don't TRICK our children out of their centers."

The last CAPA action before the election was a "Kidmobile"—a yellow school bus equipped with sound, balloons, and peanut-butter-and-jelly sandwiches—that drove all over the city with parents and children to campaign for Proposition M.

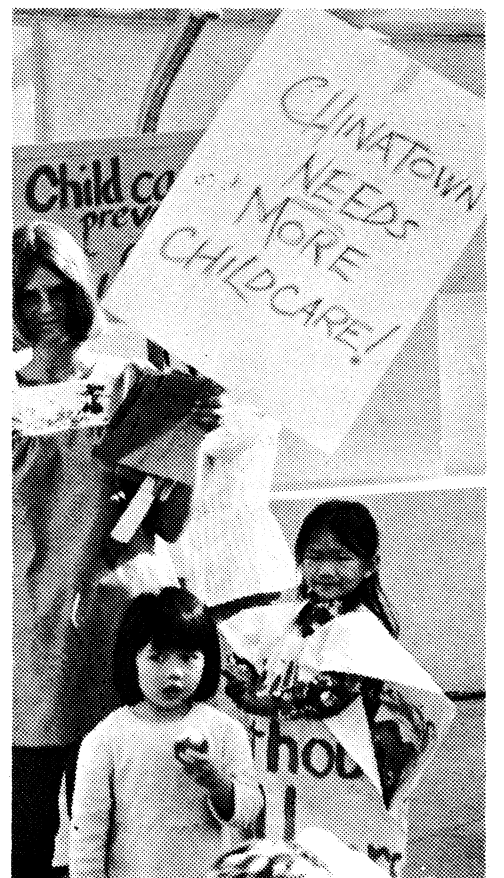
An impressive list of individuals and organizations endorsed the initiative, including the Central Labor Council, Mayor Joseph Alioto, the San Fran-

cisco *Examiner*, San Francisco *Progress*, the board of education, and members of the PTA and board of supervisors. Carole Seligman, Socialist Workers Party candidate for board of supervisors, made support for the initiative a major issue in her campaign.

In a news release issued two days after the election, CAPA called on the city government to implement the decision of the voters. The coalition is demanding the immediate opening of two new day-care centers that have just been built in the Black community. These two centers now have no children in them because the Department of Social Services says there are no funds. Yet the state government has reported a budget surplus of \$820-million.

CAPA is calling for the building of new day-care centers in more than 40 public schools now lacking child-care facilities. These schools will be undergoing construction anyway in the near future to meet earthquake protection standards.

CAPA is also demanding that "earthquake proofing" be done on all day-care centers, in addition to schools. The cost of this work, \$2.4-million, could easily be paid out of the state's budget surplus.

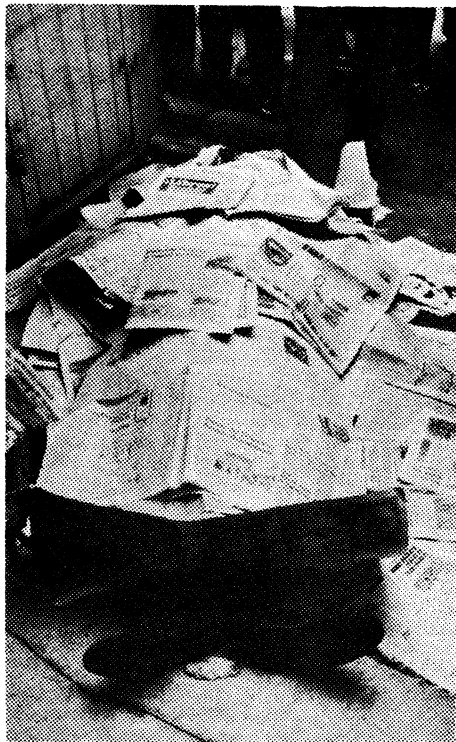


Demonstrations like this one publicized child-care initiative and contributed to election-day victory.

Appeal for support to Chilean intellectuals

Among the prominent intellectuals who are being held incommunicado by the rightist Chilean junta are Marxist scholars Luis Vitale and Hector Gutiérrez. Both are members of the Fourth International and of the Trotskyist Revolutionary Socialist Party in Chile.

Friends and supporters of Vitale and Gutiérrez in Chile have asked for international support for demands that organizations such as the Red Cross



Junta victim

or Amnesty International be permitted to interview them, to determine the state of their health, and to inform the world of their situation.

Vitale is the author of a well-known history of Chile, *Interpretación Marxista de la Historia de Chile*. Three of the book's six volumes had been published prior to the September coup.

Vitale holds dual Argentine and Chilean citizenship. He was born in Argentina in 1927 but has lived in Chile for two decades. His wife and daughter are both Chilean citizens.

He has long been active in the Chilean labor movement. In the years 1959-62, Vitale was one of the national leaders of the Central Unica de Trabajadores (CUT—United Federation of Workers).

At the time of his arrest, Vitale was professor of history and geography at the University of Concepción.

It is feared that the junta, which has indicated its intention to exterminate all independent thought by mass arrests, censorship, book burning, and executions, will attempt to punish Vitale because of the wide influence of his published work. It is not known what charges, if any, have been brought against him, nor whether he will have even a token opportunity to defend himself with the aid of a lawyer.

Hector Gutiérrez, 45, is a Chilean who was professor of demography at the School of Public Health at the University of Chile. He has been a visiting professor at the universities of Mexico, Havana, Chicago, Lima, and Rome, and has published various essays on the characteristics of Latin American population.

According to reports from Chile, Gu-

tierrez was arrested a few days after the coup and is expected to be tried by a military tribunal any day. He was held in Santiago's National Stadium since his arrest. Gutiérrez's wife, who also taught at the School of Public Health, has been fired from her job for no stated reason.

According to an interview with a Chilean Trotskyist published in the Oct. 26 Belgian weekly *La Gauche*, a total of 22 Trotskyists are known to have been arrested since the coup. Their whereabouts were unknown as of Oct. 16, when the interview was obtained.

Vitale and Gutiérrez have been added to a list of Chileans and Latin American exiles in Chile whose lives are in danger and whose cases are being publicized by the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA). The list is composed of prominent figures of various views and from different countries.

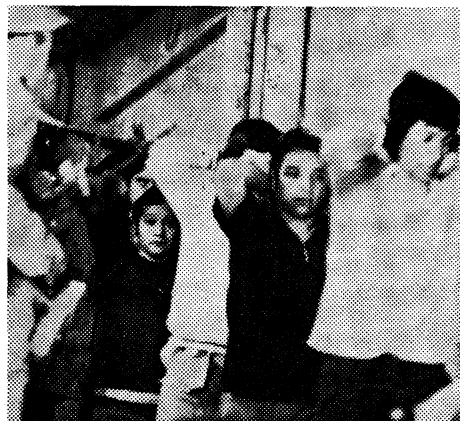
Since *The Militant* published this list in our Nov. 9 issue, one of those listed, Brazilian student Maria do Socorro, is now reported to be in an International Red Cross refugee camp.

Others on the USLA list are: Manuel Cabieses Donoso, editor of *Punto Final*; José Cayuela, editor of *Chile Hoy*; Patricio Enríquez of Channel 9 TV; José Gómez López, editor of *Puro Chile*; Oscar Weiss, editor of *La Nación*; Marta Harnecker, editor of *Chile Hoy*; Hernán Uribe, editor of *Ultima Hora*; Rodrigo Rojas, former editor of *El Siglo*.

Also, Armando Cruces, president of Vicuña Mackenna industrial belt; Hernán Ortega, president of Cerrillos industrial belt; Sergio Chávez, president of O'Higgins industrial belt; Victor Valderonito, union leader; Sergeant Cárdenas, leader of marines who supported Allende; Armando Eyzaguirre, president of Santiago central industrial belt; Manuel Dinamarca, adviser of Central Unica de Trabajadores; Eugenio Cepeda, president of San Joaquín industrial belt.

Luis Corvalán Lepe, general secretary, Chilean Communist Party; Carlos Altamirano, general secretary, Chilean Socialist Party; Miguel Enríquez, lawyer of the Chilean MIR (Movement of the Revolutionary Left); Jaime Barrios, economic aid to Allende; Gustavo Beghaut, Uruguayan director of Latin American Studies at the Sorbonne.

Also, Juan Lechin, Bolivian trade-union leader; Elsa Peña vda. Hernández, wife of Dominican revolutionist Homero Hernández; Anna Napoleon, Haitian political refugee; Emma de Torres, wife of former president of Bolivia, and leader of defense efforts for Bolivian political prisoners.



Prisoners being marched to National Stadium.

Also, Hugo Gonzales Moscoso, leader of the Bolivian POR (Combate); Patricio Gussman, Chilean filmmaker; Maria Ester Gilio, Argentine lawyer and journalist; Guillermo Lora, leader of the Bolivian POR (Masas); Ulrick Joly, Haitian political refugee.

USLA urges people to send mes-

sages demanding freedom and safe conduct out of the country for these and all others facing repression by the junta. Telegrams or letters should be sent to General Augusto Pinochet, c/o Chilean Embassy, 1736 Massachusetts Ave. N.W., Washington, D.C., with a copy to USLA at 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Actions, meetings keep focus on Chile

NOV. 14 — Opponents of the military dictatorship in Chile scored a victory in the San Francisco Bay Area this week when a team of apologists for the junta was forced to cancel their three campus speaking engagements because of militant protest actions.

The largest protest occurred at the University of San Francisco, where some 300 opponents of the junta both picketed outside and packed the meeting hall. The demonstration forced abandonment of plans for the four to speak on "The Role of Women in the Restoration of Chilean Democracy," "The Current Economic Situation," and "Subversive Elements and Hidden Arms Under Allende."



PINOCHET: His representatives routed from San Francisco campus.

The protests were spearheaded by the Committee of Concerned Latin American Scholars at Stanford, Non-Intervention in Chile (NICH), and the U.S. Committee for Justice to Latin American Political Prisoners (USLA).

The latest "Chile Action Letter" published by USLA lists continuing protests against the junta throughout the country. USLA urges that protests focus on the demand for the U.S. to open its borders to refugees from the military terror in Chile.

The Nov. 8 *New York Times* reported that the U.S. government has granted permission for 20,000 reactionary Cuban exiles to emigrate to this country from Spain. USLA suggests that this be used as a precedent for demanding U.S. asylum for refugees from the Pinochet regime in Chile.

Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) has introduced a bill into Congress to provide asylum here for 50,000 refugees from the political repression in Chile.

USLA is organizing extensive speaking tours for eyewitnesses of the coup. In a telephone interview, Linda Wine, one of the eyewitnesses who is on a national tour for USLA, told *The Militant* she thought her tour had been "extremely positive."

"There are good chances for many USLA chapters to spring up," she said. "There is a great desire to know ex-

actly what happened in Chile—to the extent that when I spoke at a very small school in Minnesota, for example, a farmer came to the meeting and was very interested in the role of U.S. agribusiness in trying to sabotage Chilean agriculture under Allende."

Wine noted that "the Chilean junta did a study and found out that after the coups in Greece and Brazil, public opinion abroad died down in two months, and that's what they're waiting for. So we have to continue to activate people on this issue."

Wine has spoken at three campuses in Minnesota and three in Ohio, and took part in a day of activities on repression in Latin America at Harvard University Nov. 10.

Another eyewitness to the coup, Heather Dashner, is touring the West Coast for USLA. Dashner—a Pacifica Radio correspondent and translator for Allende—was among the speakers who addressed a meeting of 70 at the University of San Francisco Oct. 29. The event was sponsored by USLA and La Raza Unida de USF.

8,000 in London protest Chile coup

LONDON—More than 8,000 demonstrators marched through London Nov. 4 to a mass rally held by the Chile Solidarity Campaign Committee (CSCC) in Trafalgar Square. The march followed escalating protests of the Tory government's continued backing for the junta.

Meetings protesting the coup have been held all over Britain. Large rallies and marches have been sponsored in Glasgow, Edinburgh, and Liverpool as well as in London.

These rallies and forums helped build support for the national demonstration in London on Nov. 4. A broad coalition was constructed around the CSCC. It was founded right after the coup at a meeting attended by representatives of the Transport and General Workers Union (TGWU), the London Trades Council, the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers, the National Union of Students, the Communist Party, and the International Marxist Group (IMG—British section of the Fourth International).

Many trade unions marched in the Nov. 4 demonstration. Dockers, printers, teachers, building workers, railwaymen, car workers, postal workers, and many others were there with their union banners. There were dozens of local trades councils, Labour Party branches, and student unions. Both the Communist Party and the IMG had large contingents.

Among the slogans were the following: "Release all political prisoners!" "Democratic rights for the Chilean people!" "Break off all diplomatic relations with the junta!" "Boycott all trade!" "End all credits from Britain!" "Solidarity with the Popular Unity and all those struggling against the fascist junta!"

Speaking at the rally in Trafalgar Square were Hortensia de Bussi Allende; Jack Jones, general secretary of the TGWU; Tariq Ali of the IMG; John Gollan, general secretary of the Communist Party; and Judith Hart, speaking for the national executive committee of the Labour Party.

'Where were they when milk went up?'

Wage board cuts hospital pay hike to 6%

By RAY MARKEY

NEW YORK—The week-long strike by Drug and Hospital Workers Local 1199 ended here Nov. 12 when strikers voted to accept a settlement dictated by the federal Cost of Living Council.

One striker, a dietician, told reporters, "As far as I'm concerned, the council should drop dead."

But the vote of 13,852 to 3,839 showed that the overwhelming majority of strikers saw no alternative but to return to work. The union leadership had recommended acceptance of the new terms.

Local 1199's contract had specified a 7.5 percent or \$12 a week increase, whichever was greater, beginning last July. The Cost of Living Council cut this to 6 percent or \$9 a week.

Left intact were provisions for four weeks vacation after six years of work and a reduction of the workweek from 40 to 37.5 hours for some 10,000 workers. The CLC rejected a provision for higher employer contributions to the pension fund.

Under Nixon's Phase 4, only the health care, food, and construction industries are under direct wage—and supposedly price—controls. This is why the 30,000 strikers from Local 1199 could not get their raise without Cost of Living Council approval.

"If it really is a Cost of Living Council," one striker asked, "where were they when bread went up, where were they when milk went up?"

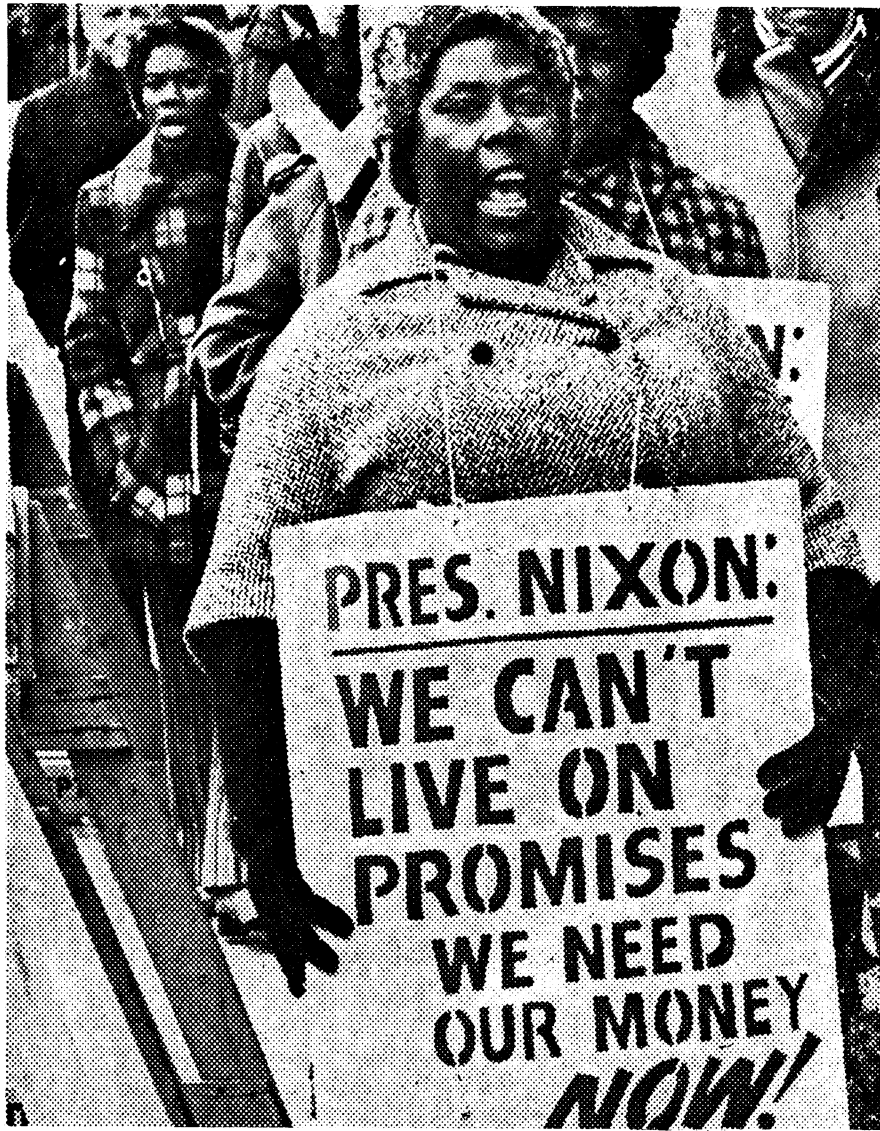
The myth that wage increases are the cause of rising prices, which is the basis for the whole wage-control system, was exposed in the course of this strike. While limiting hospital workers to a 6 percent raise, the Council rubber-stamped a 9 percent hike in hospital bills.

In fact, it approved the price increase before the wage increase. And yet the hospitals are likely to be back soon asking for more, using the wage increase as a pretext.

The Nov. 11 *New York Times* pointed to the importance of the strike as "the first major challenge by any union to wage-price controls since President Nixon inaugurated his New Economic Policy in August, 1971."

The challenge was raised by workers at the bottom of the economic ladder: most of them are low-paid Black and Puerto Rican women. Many take home barely \$100 a week after taxes and other deductions.

Even though their demands were



Local 1199 strike was directed against government wage controls.

modest, the Nixon administration was determined to keep them in their place. According to the Nov. 9 *New York Times*, Donald Irwin, administrator of wage stabilization for the CLC, "said labor and management groups now involved in wage negotiations in other areas of the country were watching the hospital strike closely to see if the council backed down. If the council yielded, he went on, it would be a signal that increases beyond 5.5 per cent would be tolerated in other industries."

It was significant that not one important labor official in New York or anywhere else publicly announced support for the strike. This lack of solidarity was consistent with the union bureaucracy's continued acquiescence in the wage controls.

Although some political figures like Governor Nelson Rockefeller and Mayor John Lindsay called on the

CLC to grant the 7.5 percent raise, the government was intent on breaking the strike.

A federal judge fined Local 1199 \$500,000 plus \$25,000 for each day the strike continued in violation of an antistrike order. Leon Davis, president of Local 1199, was fined \$10,000 plus \$2,500 a day, and 14 other union officials were also heavily fined.

These extraordinary punitive fines, which have not been dropped even though the strike is over, are an obvious attempt to financially destroy the union.

Police were also used to attack the strikers on many occasions. Dozens of pickets were arrested. Most attacks came as police escorted supplies through the picket lines. Although the union had agreed to allow some essential supplies through, other unauthorized deliveries were attempted by the hospitals as deliberate provocations.

One picket at Beth Israel Medical Center was run down by a truck and then refused treatment by the hospital. When other pickets protested, 22 were arrested. Strike headquarters told a union member that he was one of at least six pickets hit by vehicles attempting to break through the lines.

The picket lines were militant and relatively large, usually numbering several hundred. Talks with these pickets showed that they saw their strike directed against the government. Chants such as "Kick the bastard out" and "We don't want your Watergate, give us our money and keep the tapes" were often heard.

The hospitals finally resorted to well-publicized helicopter supply runs to avoid the pickets.

Nevertheless, the 48 struck hospitals had to empty more than 9,000 of their 23,000 beds as patients were transferred or sent home. The city health department declared a "health emergency."

Both liberal New York dailies, the *Times* and the *Post*, joined in a smear campaign against the strike, with page after page of articles about "hardships" to patients. But they had little to say about the hardships facing workers who must try to survive in New York on the low wages paid to Local 1199 members.

Many strikers were bitter about being forced back to work without their full raise. One woman said, "No, we're not satisfied with the 6 percent when what we were really out here for was the seven-and-a-half with retroactive."

At the same time there was a feeling that Local 1199 had given the government and the hospitals a demonstration of its determination and strength. Leon Davis said, "The entire city now knows that our members are an important force in New York. They have earned the right to be treated fairly and decently."

Hospital workers interviewed as they returned to work also pointed out that the struggle is far from over. This entire dispute concerned a year-and-a-half-old contract that will expire in July. Workers are expecting to make up then for what inflation has been taking away from their paychecks.

A printer at Montefiore Hospital in The Bronx told reporters, "We've learned from this strike, and we'll be mobilized for the struggle coming up next July."

UAW skilled workers vote down Ford contract

By MIKE KELLY

DETROIT, Nov. 14—Skilled workers have voted down the United Auto Workers' proposed new contract with Ford Motor Company by more than 3 to 1.

This is the first time in UAW history that the union ranks have refused to ratify a contract.

Skilled workers total some 28,000 out of the Ford work force of 185,000. Production workers voted to approve the contract, according to figures released by the UAW leadership.

When UAW President Leonard Woodcock announced the contract terms, he claimed it was "tailored to fit the needs of Ford workers." Perhaps sensing trouble ahead, he also cautioned workers to "put your eye upon the doughnut and not upon the hole."

For the most part the Ford contract is the same as the Chrysler contract negotiated last month, but the "voluntary overtime" provisions are even weaker. Ford may require a 10-hour

day—it was nine hours at Chrysler—and many plants are exempted from any limit on overtime.

What aroused the skilled workers' anger is a Catch-22 clause in the fine print. Workers at the Ford parts plant in Ypsilanti began the revolt against the new pact when they discovered secret "letters of understanding" between Ford and the UAW.

These letters specify, for instance, that if skilled workers choose not to work overtime, Ford can use production workers, temporary help, or outside contractors (many nonunionized) to do the job. This provision would threaten workers' jobs and worsen the already dangerous conditions in the plants.

As news of the secret letters became known, the Ypsilanti workers were joined by members of more than a dozen other Ford UAW locals in picketing Solidarity House, the national UAW headquarters here.

Every day last week hundreds of picketers marched in front of Soli-

darity House with signs such as "What You See Ain't What We Got," "Hell No, Vote No," and "The UAW Sells Out Its Members."

Dissatisfied UAW members also took out paid advertisements in local papers to point out the secret provisions and call for a "No" vote.

As the week-long process of voting in the locals began, pickets appeared outside local union halls as well. Before the revelations of the secret agreements, production workers were voting for the contract. Afterward many joined the skilled workers in voting it down.

Over the weekend both categories of workers voted down the new pact in the Rawsonville parts plant, Sterling Heights axle plant, and Van Dyke Avenue plant.

Skilled workers at the giant River Rouge complex (Local 600) also rejected the contract by a wide margin. There and at other plants, UAW officials scheduled new votes and cam-

paigned intensively for ratification.

This tactic was dropped, though, when it became clear the strong-arm methods were causing even more rank-and-file discontent.

Debates were often heated. During one argument at Local 600, a union official reportedly drew a gun and shot a member who opposed the contract.

According to a UAW rule adopted in 1966, the contract is vetoed if a majority of skilled workers vote against it, even though they are a minority in the union.

Woodcock is now trying to reinterpret that rule, but he admits that the contract is at least called into question. In addition, Ford is claiming it will not recognize the skilled workers' veto.

The UAW executive board is meeting to figure out what to do. Although many locals are pressing for strike authorization, it is expected that the union leadership will opt for reopening negotiations with Ford.

Kissinger's Middle East diplomacy sets the stage for new Israeli aggression

By DAVE FRANKEL

NOV. 14 — For the past week the attention of the world has been riveted on Secretary of State Henry Kissinger's Middle East shell game. As *Newsweek* put it, "Henry Kissinger arrived in Cairo—and the talk of war suddenly turned to talk of peace. Within 48 hours, both Israel and Egypt had accepted a U.S. plan to strengthen the shaky cease-fire, and officials were saying that peace talks were probably only a few weeks away."

However, it rapidly became apparent that the cease-fire plan worked out by Kissinger was not all it was cracked up to be. Despite talk about "a hopeful start," and "a chance for lasting peace," the stage is now being set for new wars by Israel against the Arab peoples.

None of the contradictions that led to the October 1973 war have been resolved; on the contrary, all of them have been further sharpened by that war. Israel is left occupying more Arab land than before; the rights of the Palestinians are still being ignored—the Arab regimes are even reducing the lip service they used to pay in this regard; and these regimes, which went to war largely as a result of massive internal pressure to carry out a struggle against Israeli aggression, have been exposed once again as incapable of waging such a fight.

In addition to the long-run factors that make a future war inevitable, there are also immediate dangers. Israeli leaders have not given up their hope of provoking a battle that will enable them to crush the Egyptian III Corps on the east bank of the Suez Canal.

Tel Aviv made clear its reluctance to sign the latest cease-fire pact, just as it made no secret of its opposition to the Oct. 22 and Oct. 25 cease-fire agreements. Prime Minister Golda Meir delayed acceptance of the agreement, and after it was signed Nov. 11 the Israelis refused to allow United Nations troops to open the supply corridor to Suez City and the Egyptian III Corps called for in the pact.

On Nov. 13 Meir, calling on Egypt to observe the spirit of the accord "as strictly as we do," announced in the Knesset (parliament) that Israel would refuse to abide by another part of the agreement.

Point "B" of the pact says that "both sides agree that discussions between them will begin immediately to settle the question of the return to the Oct. 22 positions. . . ." However, Meir, who in the past has asserted that the Palestinians did not exist, has now wished the Oct. 22 positions out of existence as well. According to Francis Ofter in the Nov. 14 *Christian Science Monitor*, "Mrs. Meir said Israel would not free the Egyptian Third Army by withdrawing to what she described as the nonexistent lines of Oct. 22."

The Israeli provocations clearly demonstrate that Tel Aviv is not all that concerned about prisoners of war held by Egypt. POW exchange was made dependent on implementation of the parts of the cease-fire agreement concerning the opening of a UN-controlled corridor to the Suez Canal.

Keeping the pot boiling

Egypt had advised the Red Cross it would be ready to begin the exchange of prisoners Nov. 13. These plans, according to *New York Times* reporter Henry Tanner, were altered only after Tel Aviv began to impose additional conditions on the transfer



KISSINGER AND SPHINX: Former Secretary of State William Rogers had been there with an earlier 'peace' plan, but without the public relations buildup.

of supplies to Suez. The propaganda campaign being carried out around Israeli POWs is designed as a cover to keep the pot boiling and to justify in advance any new Israeli aggression.

While the U.S. news media have given full coverage to Israeli demands that their prisoners be returned without any other agreements, for "humanitarian" reasons, almost nothing has been said about the Israeli refusal to allow 2,000 wounded soldiers and civilians to be evacuated from Suez City. *Times* reporter Raymond Anderson wrote in a Nov. 12 dispatch from Cairo, "There are reports here that some of the wounded are dying for lack of medicine."

The danger of a new outbreak of fighting as a result of these conditions remains very high. Tel Aviv's policy of pushing Egypt as far as it can is especially threatening because of the role of the U.S. Although *Time* magazine went so far as to talk about "a new U.S. diplomatic approach to Middle East problems" as a result of Kissinger's trip across the Arab world, the reality is very different.

What the U.S. wants

It is true that the U.S. wants to see a negotiated settlement in the Middle East that would help guarantee the stability of the area, and it has put some pressure on Israel to agree to the Kissinger plan in the hope of obtaining such a settlement. But what the U.S. wants is stability based on Israeli hegemony, and an endorsement of that situation by the Arab regimes in return for regaining parts

of the Israeli-occupied territories.

Nixon wants Israel to negotiate from a position of strength. That is why the U.S. has rearmed Israel and brought its military strength above the level it was before the October war. Furthermore, Terence Smith reported from Jerusalem in the Nov. 12 *Times* that the decision to accept the cease-fire plan "was made after Israel received a final communication from Mr. Kissinger in Peking, assuring Israel that the United States would support her interpretation of the more nebulous clauses of the agreement."

Smith reported the next day that several points in the agreement "were deliberately left vague by the American diplomats who drafted the original version. . . ."

"American sources here said that in drafting the document, Secretary of State Kissinger had sought to leave as much as possible for negotiation between the parties."

Although much has been made of supposed conflicts between Kissinger and Tel Aviv, there is no evidence whatever of any substantive disagreements. Kissinger is playing soft cop while Israel plays hard cop.

In Peking Kissinger said, "Israel has always agreed that the final borders will not be the cease-fire lines either of 1967 or of 1973." But he remained silent on the question of Israeli plans for annexation of most of the territories occupied in the 1967 war.

The result of this approach was summed by one woman in Cairo, who told *Time* magazine, "I thought we were not going to make any concessions to Israel until we had the meat in our hands. Now where is the meat?"

The latest diplomatic moves in the Middle East are part of an effort that has been going on for years. After the 1967 war Washington and Tel Aviv assumed that they would have no trouble in imposing a settlement on the Arab regimes. However, the crushing defeat of 1967 led to a mass upsurge by the Palestinians, who had lost confidence in the Arab governments and concluded that they had to fight for their rights themselves.

The mass pressure generated by the Palestinian resistance, and its enormous popularity throughout the Arab world, prevented a settlement. Any Arab government undertaking to recognize Israel and deny the rights of the Palestinians would have faced the threat of revolution.

In June 1970 former Secretary of State William Rogers announced that the U.S. had undertaken a "political initiative" to try to resolve the Middle East dispute. Robert Langston wrote in *The Militant*: "During a month of steady military escalation along the Syrian and Egyptian cease-fire lines with Israel, there has been a corresponding escalation of U.S. and Soviet diplomatic efforts to devise a mutually acceptable 'peace' formula for the conflict."

"The outlines of the formula are gradually becoming clear. What they add up to is: 1) an attempt to liquidate the Palestinian resistance; 2) an attempt to force Arab acceptance of the legitimacy of the Zionist state; and 3) Israeli withdrawal from an ambiguously defined part of the territories it has occupied since June 1967."

The Rogers proposal came immediately after heavy fighting in Jordan between King Hussein's army and Palestinian guerrillas. Rogers stressed U.S. "friendship" for Hussein and expressed "concern" over the fighting. American interest was emphasized by the alert of the 82nd Airborne Division.

Hussein attacks Palestinians

In August a new cease-fire between Israel, Jordan, and Egypt was worked out, and Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Egypt, and Libya stopped their contributions of money and arms to the Palestinian resistance organizations. In September came Hussein's attack on the Palestinian resistance movement in Jordan. It was estimated that there were at least 30,000 casualties in Amman alone. The other Arab regimes stood by and did nothing, while the U.S. announced that it would replace all weapons lost by Hussein's army in the course of crushing the Palestinians.

However, having done all this, the Arab rulers were left without a settlement that they could accept and still remain in power. The latest war was launched by the Arab regimes with the intention of forcing a diplomatic solution to the occupation of their territories, but there is no reason to believe that they will be successful in even this limited aim. The Israelis are not willing to withdraw to where they were less than a month ago, let alone to the pre-1967 borders.

In justifying Israeli demands for annexation of Arab territory, Golda Meir said in the Knesset Nov. 13: "It would be wrong to believe that we have learned from this war that there is no value in depth and defensible borders."

"We have not learned that we must return to the lines of 4 June 1967, which tempt our neighbors to aggression."

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A discussion among revolutionists

Israel and the Arab revolution

By DAVE FRANKEL

Recent events have focused international attention on the Middle East and underlined once again the importance of the Arab revolution. Involved is the destiny of some 125 million people, and the ever-present danger of a nuclear war growing out of the confrontation there between world imperialism and the Soviet workers state.

Prior to its 1971 convention the Socialist Workers Party had an exten-

sively divided. The division into countries such as Iraq, Syria, and Jordan was the result of the division of the whole area between Britain and France after World War I. The Arab people, however, constitute a single nationality, linked by a common history, religion, language, and culture.

This artificial division facilitates imperialist domination, which continues to this day.

The Arab revolution

The establishment of genuine national independence and national unification is one of the central tasks of the Arab revolution. But this is a democratic task—that is, it was achieved in what are now the advanced capitalist countries during their democratic, antifeudal revolutions. Other demands of this type applicable to the Arab revolution include the need for land reform, an end to the repression of religious minorities, and the winning of many elementary democratic rights.

While the rising capitalist class of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was able to lead the masses against the old feudal aristocracy to realize these demands, the native capitalists in the Middle East—as in the rest of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—depend on imperialist support and lack of democratic rights for their continued rule. Rulers like King Faisal of Saudi Arabia, King Hussein of Jordan, or the emirs of the Arab Gulf would face the danger of being swept away in the course of any mass mobilization against imperialism.

Even those representatives of capitalist rule least subservient to imperialism, like Nasser of Egypt, have proved unable to carry out these democratic tasks. The result is that the democratic tasks of the Arab revolution can only be carried out in the course of a socialist revolution.

But the need for a socialist revolution does not imply the rejection of democratic demands. On the contrary, Gus Horowitz, a member of the national committee of the SWP, points out in his article on "The Revolution in the Arab East Since 1967," that:

"Only by championing the democratic demands of the rural poor and the oppressed masses in the Arab world can the working class summon them behind its program for the proletarian socialist revolution."

The Palestinian revolution

Since 1967 the struggle of the Palestinian people for their democratic right of self-determination has been the driving force of the Arab revolution as a whole. The resolution adopted by the SWP in 1971, "Israel and the Arab Revolution," is included in this collection, and makes clear the SWP's position on this struggle. Israel, it says, "serves as the spearhead of imperialism's fight against the Arab revolution. We unconditionally support the struggles of the Arab peoples against the state of Israel."

A counterresolution opposed to the resolution adopted by the convention, and also printed in this bulletin, while supporting the struggle against the Israeli state, rejected the demand for a democratic, secular Palestine raised by the Palestinian resistance organizations and supported by the majority of the SWP.

Gus Horowitz, in his report to the SWP convention on "The Major Dis-



puted Issues on Israel and the Arab Revolution," said of the counterresolution: "It sees the demand for political democracy serving the objective interests of the capitalist class, simply because a struggle that is limited to this demand, will generally be inadequate to prevent the consolidation of power by the national bourgeoisie."

Horowitz continues, "The demand for a secular, democratic Palestine is not sufficient by itself. But we do not reject it on that account. We pose a socialist revolution culminating in the creation of a workers state as the means of achieving and guaranteeing a democratic, secular Palestine. We do not counterpose the two. . . ."

"One of the ways that the revolutionary party distinguishes itself from the national bourgeoisie, and mobilizes the Palestinian masses independently of the national bourgeoisie, is not by steering clear of the demand for political democracy, but by becoming the champions of the struggle for it.

"The program of the revolutionary party is different from that of the national bourgeoisie, not only because it raises working class demands, but also because it carries out the most consistent and intransigent struggle around democratic demands."

Self-determination

Another issue raised in the counterresolution on Israel and the Arab revolution was the proposal that the Israeli Jews should have the right to set up their own state "within the framework of the future workers power in Palestine."

This idea was rejected in the resolution adopted by the SWP. Horowitz explained in a report on the resolution to the SWP national committee that Marxists support the struggles of oppressed nationalities for self-determination "as a means of mobilizing the oppressed nationalities against their oppressors, mobilizing the working class in the oppressor nation against its own ruling class on this question, and thus laying the only basis for a genuine internationalist alliance between them. As we know, the liberation struggles of oppressed nationalities lead in the direction of the socialist revolution, while the nationalism of oppressor nationalities acts to perpetuate national oppression and capitalist rule." This dynamic, Horowitz explained, was missing in the call

for self-determination for the Israeli Jews.

In his report on the resolution to the SWP convention Horowitz elaborated further on the Marxist approach to this question. He pointed out that the creation of a separate Jewish state contradicts the right of the Palestinians, who are the oppressed, to their self-determination because it cuts across their right to a unitary Palestine.

"Self-determination," Horowitz said, "speaks to the key question of the nation-state relations between the two nationalities. Will they live in a unitary state, or will they live in separate states? We say that the oppressed nationality has the right to make this choice unilaterally."

"Usually, the right of self-determination is posed as the right of an oppressed nationality to secede and form a separate state. But the Palestinians are not demanding a separate state. They are demanding a unitary state. This may be unusual, but it is easily understood, once you look at the specifics of their oppression. . . ."

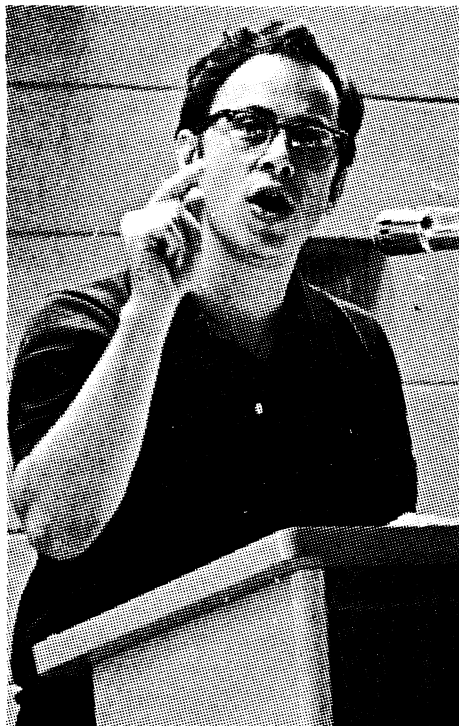
"In Palestine, national oppression has been carried out, not through the forcible retention of the oppressed Palestinians [in a single state with the oppressors, as is usually the case], but through their forcible eviction, and through the forcible partition of the country. . . . the reason why [the Palestinians] are demanding a unitary state, rather than a separate state derives from the concrete circumstances of their oppression."

"When the counterresolution calls for the right of the Israeli Jews to form a separate state, it denies this unilateral choice to the Palestinians. This amounts to a veto power by the present oppressor nationality over the right of the oppressed nationality to self-determination. Self-determination for both nationalities is not self-determination at all for the Palestinians."

Role of Israeli Jews

Revolutionary Marxists do not identify the masses of Israeli Jews with the Zionist state. While supporting whatever steps are necessary to end the oppression of the Palestinians, the SWP resolution pointed out, "Our program for the Palestinian revolution and the Arab revolution as a whole includes

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Militant/Howard Petrick

Gus Horowitz reporting to Socialist Workers Party convention on resolution on Israel and the Arab revolution.

ary socialist position but is also an example of how a genuine revolutionary organization refines its political program through democratic discussion.

The relation between democratic tasks and the socialist revolution is discussed extensively in these articles. Up until the end of World War II, much of the Arab East was still under direct imperialist rule. French rule in Algeria wasn't ended until 1962.

Even after the end of direct imperialist rule, the Arab world was left ar-

300 hear anti-Zionist speakers

JDL fails to disrupt B'klyn meeting

BROOKLYN—The right-wing Jewish Defense League was handed a defeat Nov. 12 at Brooklyn College when an anti-Zionist meeting of 300 people was held.

A similar meeting Oct. 24 had been broken up by JDL supporters. Following that meeting James Mendieta, Socialist Workers Party candidate for Brooklyn district attorney, was attacked and beaten by six JDLers.

JDL members were in attendance at the Nov. 12 meeting, but they were unsuccessful in their efforts to shout down speakers, and resorted to a walkout of about 50 people. Later 20 JDLers tried to break into the meeting room through a rear door but were prevented from getting in.

Students and faculty at the meeting, many of whom favor Israel in the current conflict in the Middle East, opposed the JDL attempts at disruption. The successful completion of the meeting was the result of a three-week campaign to defend the right of pro-Palestinian speakers to appear on the campus.

The meeting was sponsored and defended by the Umoja Society (a Black student group), Dominican Students, the Puerto Rican Socialist Party, the International Students Organization, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

Speakers at the meeting were Mark Friedman of the Young Socialist Alliance, Ibrahim Ebeid of the Palestine

Liberation Organization, and Dr. M. T. Medhi of the Action Committee on Arab-American Relations. The sentiment of the organizers of the meeting was captured when, after escorting the speakers to their car, they shouted in unison, "Victory!"

In the Nov. 9 *Militant* we erroneously reported that Zionist disrupters chanted, "We want Arab blood!" during an

anti-Zionist meeting at Queens College. Actually, this chant was used after the meeting by some 30 to 40 members and supporters of the Jewish Defense League who confronted Dr. M. T. Medhi, an Arab speaker at the meeting, as he was going to his car. During the meeting, the disrupters heckled, booed, chanted, and sang the Israeli anthem in an unsuccessful attempt to prevent the meeting from proceeding.



Militant/Alan Becker

Nov. 12 meeting. Earlier meeting was broken up by Jewish Defense League.

Teach-ins, debates on Mideast war held in cities, schools across U.S.

By DAVE FRANKEL

The debates and teach-ins sparked by the Arab-Israeli war have revealed a new depth of interest in the causes and possible solutions to the conflict.

These meetings have shown that the Vietnam war and the massive antiwar movement sensitized many people in this country to the imperialist foreign policy of Washington. Polls show a majority opposing direct U.S. military involvement. And despite the pro-Israel propaganda of government officials, capitalist politicians, and the mass media, many people support or are willing to consider the justice of the Arab cause.

Among the meetings and actions not previously reported in *The Militant* are the following:

Some 200 attended a "Behind the Arab-Israeli Conflict" teach-in in Ann Arbor, Mich., Oct. 30. Attorney Abdeen Jabara, an Arab-American activist, was the featured speaker. Sponsors were the Young Socialist Alliance, Organization of Arab Students, and Black student groups.

An Oct. 24 meeting at San Francisco State College featured former *Ramparts* editor Robert Scheer, and a debate with Paul Boutelle, Socialist Workers Party candidate for vice-president in 1968, and Francis Assaf, an Arab student, opposing Rabbi Roger Herst and David Zinder, an Israeli.

On the same day, 300 people heard SWP spokesman Don Gurewitz debate Carl Gershman, the national chairman of the social democratic Young People's Socialist League, at Boston University.

Gershman, who has peddled the slander that the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance are anti-Semitic organizations, called for continued U.S. support to Israel.

He insisted that "Israel's right to survive is undebatable."

Gurewitz, who traced the roots of the 1973 war back to the founding of Israel in 1948, explained that the only solution for the ongoing crisis in the Middle East was the elimination of the colonial settler-state. "Jews everywhere," he said, "have to break with Zionism, which does not represent their interests, and to ally with the Palestinian struggle and the Arab revolution."

The debate at Boston University followed an Oct. 14 rally of 1,000 people in West Roxbury in support of the Arab struggle against Israeli aggression. On Oct. 25, following Kissinger's announcement of the U.S. military alert, 250 people demonstrated at Boston's Government Center Plaza against U.S. intervention in the Middle East. The demonstration was organized by the Ad Hoc Committee to Stop U.S. Intervention in the Middle East, which included Arab, Iranian, and Pakistani student groups; the May 15 Coalition; Search; and the SWP.

More than 250 students at Portland State University in Oregon attended a debate Oct. 24. Lisa Potash of the Oregon YSA and Dr. N. Toulon, dean of PSU Urban Studies, debated Dr. Morton Jacobs, a Zionist. For the most part, the audience appeared to be neither strongly pro-Arab nor pro-Zionist. After the formal part of the debate, a lively and heated discussion ensued. Although no vote was taken at the end of the discussion, applause indicated substantial sympathy for the Arab cause.

In Atlanta, former SWP mayoral candidate Debby Bustin held a news conference Oct. 23 in which she revealed secret U.S. training of Israeli army officers. Bustin denounced the training, which she said was going on at Fort Benning, Ga., Fort Knox,

Ky., and Fort Bliss, Texas.

Bustin's revelations were followed up by reporters from two of Atlanta's three television stations. After receiving a runaround from U.S. and Israeli officials, Andy Hiller of WAGA-TV concluded, "It is apparent that some sort of training is going on, but somebody doesn't want us to know about it."

About 200 people turned out at Southern Illinois University in Carbondale Oct. 16 to hear several faculty members, Suzanne Haig of the SWP, and representatives from the Iranian Students Association and the Young Workers Liberation League debate the issues of the Middle East war. Zionist representatives refused to participate at first, but agreed to speak after the teach-in received extensive coverage in the local media.

At the University of Toledo in Ohio Steve Beumer of the YSA spoke to a rally of about 50 people called by the Organization of Arab Students Oct. 12 to protest U.S. intervention in the Middle East. The OAS sponsored a rally of more than 100 in Columbus, Ohio, the same day.

Another example of the widespread sentiment against U.S. involvement in the Middle East was seen in Jacksonville, N.C., Oct. 13. Three active-duty servicemen were arrested there as they collected signatures on a petition against U.S. forces being sent to intervene in the Middle East. They were part of a group of 20 civilians and servicemen petitioning near the marine base at Camp Lejeune.

Randy Thorman and Mark Patlin, both stationed at Norfolk with the Navy, and Scott Miller, a soldier stationed at Fort Bragg, were released without charges after four hours. Military police also illegally confiscated their petitions and pamphlets.

U. of Penn Mideast debate

By LAUREL KELLY

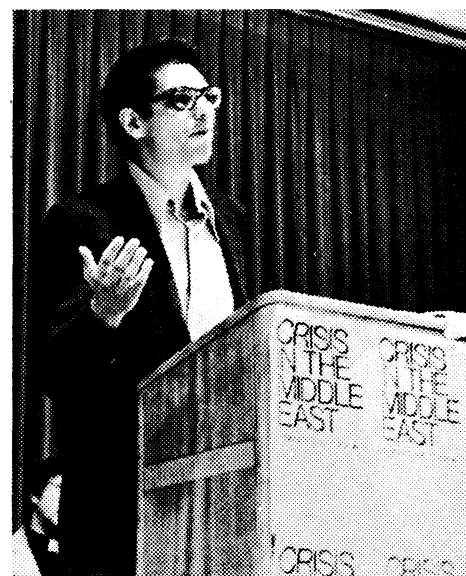
PHILADELPHIA—A debate featuring Dave Frankel, a staff writer for *The Militant*, and Professor Fred Gottheil of the University of Illinois was the highlight of a Middle East teach-in Nov. 8 at the University of Pennsylvania.

A standing-room-only crowd of more than 300 listened attentively to the different points of view expressed. The meeting, which lasted more than three hours, was completed without incident.

Gottheil, an economics professor who defended the Zionist perspective, was met with warm applause. But as the debate proceeded his racist attitude toward the native Arab population of the Middle East increasingly embarrassed his supporters. Especially revealing was Gottheil's argument that the Zionist settlers had developed the economy of Palestine—something he implied was beyond the capacities of the Palestinians.

Frankel was met with round after round of applause as he defended the struggle of the Palestinians to reclaim their homeland and likened Israel to the racist settler-colonial state of South Africa. The response of the audience showed that a majority approved of the anti-Zionist position.

During a panel discussion following the debate, Hatim Husseini, a Palestinian and the director of the Arab Information Office in Washington, D.C., described the discrimination he



Militant/Bill Hutton

FRANKEL: Defends Palestinian struggle.

suffered when he tried to leave his infant daughter with her mother in the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River.

Husseini scored the governments of Jordan and Saudi Arabia for selling out the Palestinian people, and called for a democratic, secular Palestine. He explained that he is not allowed to return to the land of his birth and does not want to return until he is able to do so with dignity.

Other speakers included Norton Mezvinsky, who spoke on the Zionist character of Israel, and James Zogby, a professor at Shippensburg State College, who discussed the ties of imperialism to Israel. David Twersky of the *Jewish Frontier* presented a "radical" Zionist point of view.

Sponsors of the meeting were the Organization of Arab Students, Iranian Students Association, Penn Muslim Students Association, Penn Students for Peace in the Middle East, Hillel, and the Young Socialist Alliance.

In Our Opinion

All-out fight needed to win UFW boycott

The leadership of the United Farm Workers Union has called for expansion of the nationwide boycotts of non-UFW grapes and lettuce and Gallo wines. All who support the farm workers in their struggle for justice and human dignity should rally behind this appeal.

The reactionary Teamsters union officialdom now refuses to repudiate its sweetheart contracts with California growers.

Even if the Teamsters had lived up to their agreement to leave the fields, it would have required a major struggle to force the growers to recognize the UFW. But many supporters of the farm workers were confused by the negotiations, and as a result the boycott slackened in many areas.

Now it is clear to all supporters of the farm workers that a vigorous campaign is necessary to defend the UFW, and boycott activists around the country are beginning to discuss how to make the boycott more effective.

The farm workers face enormous obstacles in their fight: they are up against not just a few individual growers, but the most powerful business and financial interests in California, backed up by the Nixon and Reagan administrations and the corrupt Teamsters union bureaucracy.

The only kind of boycott that can win against this powerful combination is a massive, active boycott campaign that blocks scab produce from enough markets to make even the agribusiness millionaires suffer.

There is no doubt that sympathy for the oppressed and superexploited farm workers is widespread, especially among radicalized young people, the Chicano community, and many unionists. This vast potential for support has barely begun to be tapped. What is needed now is for UFW supporters in each city to map out an organized plan of activities to reach and mobilize thousands of people in the boycott.

Mass picketing of supermarkets, with plenty of signs and leaflets to explain the issues clearly to shoppers, will be one of the most important activities. As experience shows, mass picket lines can rapidly cost the stores thousands of dollars in lost business and force them to remove scab produce.

Activists in UFW support committees need to mobilize forces beyond their own relatively small numbers. Only a campaign to actively involve the broadest possible forces in the boycott can succeed. This means, for example, setting specific target stores, dates, and times, and then widely publicizing them and appealing to all UFW supporters to join the picket lines.

While every effort should be made to get signed agreements not to sell non-UFW produce, the store owners' promises will not be worth much. A regular system of checking up can make sure any store that reneges is picketed again and again.

So far the powerful forces of the organized labor movement have not been mobilized in behalf of the beleaguered farm workers. The most recent default of the AFL-CIO officialdom occurred when no effective action was taken at the labor federation's convention a few weeks ago. Most unions support the farm workers' cause, however, and many have provided some aid to local boycott efforts. Their full participation in the boycott would assure victory.

A massive publicity campaign, especially through the student, labor, Black, and Chicano press, is needed to bring news of La Causa to millions.

Periodic rallies and broadly sponsored meetings will be important to demonstrate the extent of support for the boycott and to keep it in the public's attention.

College and high school students have already scored some successes, through demonstrations and petitioning, in forcing school cafeterias to observe the boycott.

The movement against the Vietnam war provides a useful model for this boycott campaign. It, too, started out with only a nucleus of activists to challenge powerful reactionary forces.

But by planning all its activities with the aim of educating and mobilizing ever-larger numbers of the American people, the antiwar movement played a significant role in forcing the withdrawal of U. S. troops.

Many of the same people who became involved in the antiwar movement can be won to active support of the farm workers. Here, again, a strategy based on mass action is the key to success.

Letters

Fund pledge I

Here is the check to fulfill the \$45 pledge we made two weeks ago. Got *The Militant* anniversary book [45 Years in the Struggle for Socialism] in the mail. It's really beautiful. Thanks.

P. K.

Owings Mills, Md.

Fund pledge II

Enclosed is \$45 for *The Militant* fund drive. *The Militant's* coverage of Chile and the Mideast is indispensable at this stage of the world revolution because it's not only news coverage but analysis.

D. W.

Monmouth, Ore.

Fund pledge III

This is the second check of my \$45 *Militant* forty-fifth anniversary fund campaign pledge. Keep up your great coverage and analysis of the Chile events.

G. P.

Willoughby, Ohio

No rubber-stamp outfit

I have started receiving *The Militant* by subscription and I am impressed by the professional journalism and the views expressed in your paper. Unlike many of the journals supposedly for the working people, yours is not merely a rubber-stamp outfit that prints everything in support of the Soviet bureaucrats, whom I had the misfortune of dealing with in Moscow this summer. You stood up for the dissidents—Sakharov and Solzhenitsyn. That's what really caught my eye. Now, being the citizen of a depressingly brainwashed town that happens to have a State College, I would like to sell *The Militant*.

Send me 20 *Militants* a week and about 20 subscription forms.

B. D.

Olympia, Wash.

Cancellation I

I do not agree with your policy on the Mideast. Israel must live. Please stop my three-week subscription and send back the remaining money.

Jane Margulies

New York, N. Y.

Cancellation II

Cancel my subscription as of now. I have always supported your efforts for the poor, downtrodden, and persecuted and will continue to do so. But your opinion of the Arab-Israeli problem is so out of joint, so full of hate and irrational and down-right untrue facts that I cannot possibly continue purchasing your paper.

R. Teieher

New York, N. Y.

Cancellation III

Please cancel my subscription. Your attitude on the Arab-Israeli conflict is despicable and the literary quality of your newspaper is equally discouraging. Thank you.

Susan Guttman

Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Attica

We have tried to get one of those Watergate tapes (where Rockefeller spoke to Nixon, Agnew, and Mitchell before sending in the storm troopers in D-Yard on that Bloody Monday, Sept. 13, 1971, to massacre 43 comrades) all to no avail.

At present the racist political machinery has placed the venue for trial purposes for those of us who were indicted in Buffalo-Erie County. Guess where the largest contingent of sheriffs' deputies came from when the assault force was assembled? Erie County! Guess where the Brothers are to be housed? Erie County Jail (under the custody of the sheriffs). Guess where the Brothers are at present (with the exception of five of us who are in Erie County Jail and the few out on bail)? In Auburn's Segregation!

The very same correction officers who assaulted us from the Auburn Assault Contingent are the keepers of the Auburn box! What does Attica mean to you? To the Attica Brothers it means fight back! Free the Attica Brothers, Now!

Herbert X Blyden

The Attica Liberation Faction

New York, N. Y.

Peking on Chile

I don't know whether your writers noticed that *Newsweek* magazine carried an article on Oct. 15 called "Chile: The Exiles," which stated that, besides the United States "... Communist China ... turned all exiles away from their embassy doors." As a former Maoist friend of mine said, it would seem that Peking is more interested in peaceful coexistence, copper, and nitrates than the safety of radicals and pro-Allende forces fleeing for their lives in the face of the proimperialist, bourgeois, reactionary military coup.

J. G.

Toronto, Ontario

NAM's stand

The Militant reported Oct. 26 that the Pittsburgh chapter of the New American Movement (NAM) has decided to urge a vote for the 1973 Socialist Workers Party candidates for city office in Pittsburgh. This decision was made despite the fact that NAM members disagree with many SWP positions.

Your readers might be interested in the following excerpts from the NAM resolution:

"While the New American Movement has principled political differences with the SWP on many crucial issues, we are giving critical support to this local campaign effort for the following reasons.

1) The platform ... is essentially a progressive one and represents a major advance over the positions put forth by either Democratic or Republican candidates in this election in terms of the interests of poor and working people in this city.

2) The electoral process in this country has for so long by virtue of repressive laws, unequal access to media and suppression of ideas, excluded left political parties and positions. The SWP campaign represents one of the few attempts in recent years in Pittsburgh to challenge this control and present an alternative to the two capitalist parties.

3) The ... campaign argues that only a fundamental reorganization of our society—socialism—can in the final analysis solve the problems confronting us."

Fred Stanton

Pittsburgh, Pa.

World Outlook

A WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL SUPPLEMENT TO THE MILITANT BASED ON SELECTIONS FROM INTERCONTINENTAL PRESS,
A NEWSMAGAZINE REFLECTING THE VIEWPOINT OF REVOLUTIONARY SOCIALISM.

NOVEMBER 23, 1973

Thailand

New regime maneuvers for stability

By Ernest Harsch

Two weeks after the overthrow of Thanom Kittikachorn and Praphas Charusathien, the new Thai government headed by Premier Sanya Thammak announced the confiscation of all the property and holdings of the two ousted military leaders. The confiscation was a response to demands by students, who feared that Thanom and Praphas might try to make a comeback. A few conspicuous supporters of Thanom and Praphas were also purged from their offices. The Board of Inspection and the Follow-up of Government Operations (formerly called the Directorate for the Suppression of the Undesirable Elements of Society), the power base of Narong Kittikachorn, Thanom's son, is scheduled to be dissolved.

After the mobilizations of up to half a million students and, as Malcolm W. Browne reported in the October 21 *New York Times*, "perhaps a million more jobless workers, bus drivers, city employees, unemployed politicians, bar waitresses, taxi drivers and countless others," the Thai ruling class will have to move very cautiously to keep the reins on the student movement. It will have to make at least a pretense of trying to solve the problems that touched off the antigovernment mobilization.

Many of the leaders of the National Student Center, which organized the demonstrations, favor a more neutralist foreign policy, which would include closer ties with China and North Vietnam and the withdrawal of the vast U.S. military presence. The issue of the U.S. air bases and the 38,000 U.S. troops stationed in Thailand figured prominently in the student mobilizations last summer.

Even before the overthrow of the military regime, Deputy Foreign Minister Chatichai Choonhavan, who remains at his post in the new government, moved to establish closer relations with Peking. In September he met in New York with Chiao Kuanhua, the Chinese deputy foreign minister, and discussed details of the new Bangkok-Peking relations. When the Sanya government came to power, it announced that it would accelerate these efforts. The October *New York Times* reported some sources indicating that "Bangkok expects to increase exports of sugar, jute, teak, maize and rubber to China in exchange for increased imports of Chinese manufactured goods, particularly textiles."

A former foreign minister, Thanat Khoman, also favored rapprochement with Peking, while sharing some of the sentiments of the students toward the U.S. air bases. He felt that a

strong U.S. military presence in Thailand and closer relations with Peking were contradictory. Most of the government officials, however, see no contradiction. They would prefer to keep a sizable American military presence in Thailand, while at the same time continuing the overtures to Peking. The Chinese bureaucracy, for their part, may not object to the presence of the U.S. bases in light of their détente with the United States.

The October 17 *Wall Street Journal* reported: "Thailand is believed likely to continue its basic foreign policy of close relations with the United States, despite an abrupt change in

mentioned no specific schedule and said that they would go only 'when the need of operations by United States troops in Thailand is over.'"

The Thai military leaders, who still wield considerable influence behind the scenes, rely on U.S. military aid to help maintain their own power bases. But their determination to keep the U.S. air bases in Thailand flies in the face of the demands raised by the students and other sectors of the Thai population.

Thaweechai L. Prasert wrote in the Bangkok English-language newspaper *The Nation*: "The students and the public have shown time and again

tion of the officer corps. The various military cliques, particularly those supporting Thanom and Praphas, had based themselves on the lucrative prof-



SANYA: Cabinet is old product in new package.



Thai students led mass mobilizations of as many as 1.5 million. Above, wounded student is carried to safety.

government over the weekend that ended decades of military rule. There is little immediate worry, in the opinion of informed sources here [Bangkok], about the future of the substantial U.S. military forces in this country. . . . The U.S. regards its forces in Thailand as necessary in case of a complete breakdown in the Vietnam truce."

The October 29 *Newsweek* added: "As if to emphasize that the American alliance was not even a subject of debate, Sanya named as Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya, an air officer who owes his life to medical treatment in Washington, D. C."

"Defense Minister Dawee Chullasapya," said an October 24 UPI dispatch from Bangkok, "indicated today that there would be no speed-up in the withdrawal of American military aircraft based in Thailand. . . ."

"Marshal Dawee said at a news conference that withdrawals of United States forces would continue. But he

the wish to reduce the American influence in the country and the American military presence here.

"The move toward reducing the American troop presence here has already started but with the greatest reluctance. It must be speeded up."

While the students have taken a wait-and-see attitude toward the new government, if the U.S. bases remain, as they most likely will, further student mobilizations can be expected. Already, a determination to continue the struggles has been expressed. The October 21 *New York Times* reported: "Student leaders say they intend to campaign to eliminate American bases from Thailand and to make the country economically and militarily independent of the United States. Carried to an extreme, this could lead to the virtual elimination of the American presence on the Asian mainland."

Another of the issues that brought the students out against the military government was the rampant corrup-

its of Thailand's vast opium trade.

Malcolm W. Browne, reporting from Bangkok for the *New York Times*, noted: "Official corruption, notably extortion, had reached such a state that the Government itself felt an administrative crisis was at hand."

The embarrassment of some sectors of the ruling class over the extent of the corruption may very well have helped in partially isolating it, accounting for the ease with which it was overthrown.

But if corruption was a trademark of the Thanom government, Sanya's new cabinet is simply an old product in a new package. Kris Sivara, who remains commander in chief of the army and is the most powerful military figure in Thailand today, received his training under Sarit Thanarat, the late military dictator who helped Thanom and Praphas break into the opium trade.

Even more revealing is the Cobra Swamp scandal that is beginning to surface in Bangkok. The October 22 *Far Eastern Economic Review* featured an article by Michael Morrow describing the deals involved in the plans to construct an international airport on a swampy area just outside of Bangkok. It was entitled "Bangkok's Watertgate."

The Northrop Corporation of California, whose officials recently admitted making \$70,000 in unrecorded contributions to the Nixon campaign, set up the Northrop Thailand Airport Company to carry through the financing and building of the airport. Henry Kearns, former president of the U.S. Export-Import Bank, backed the \$150-million project.

Morrow described Kearns's career: "His first major political position was directing the Eisenhower-Nixon campaign in southern California in 1956, following which he was appointed Assistant Secretary of Commerce for International Affairs. A Nixon stalwart

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'You can kill men but not ideas'

Swedish reporter tells of imprisonment in Chile

[Bobi Sourander, the Chilean correspondent of the prestigious Stockholm daily *Dagens Nyheter*, was jailed October 11 by the military dictatorship. For almost two weeks, he was held in the National Stadium in Santiago, the largest of the junta's improvised concentration camps, before being expelled from the country. On October 24, he arrived in Stockholm and filed a story describing his experiences, which was published in the October 25 *Dagens Nyheter*. An abridged version follows. The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

The National Stadium in Santiago is notorious throughout the world. It is here that the Chilean military junta has concentrated the murder and torture by which it has raised itself to power and control over its country. It is here that the Chilean workers and left have been humiliated as few before.



Prisoners in Santiago's National Stadium.

Now this football arena is to be cleared and the prisoners taken elsewhere. So, something momentous and sad is happening. The last little bit of free Chile is dying. The last small spot in the country where people still dare to think freely and talk openly, dare to oppose the rule of force and laugh at their own fear of the future is disappearing.

That is what it is—the Estadio Nacional, this concentration camp with its torture chambers—the last that remains of free Chile.

When we arrived, we were driven into Escotilla 3. An escotilla [gate] is simply a ramp to the spectators section.

We got one blanket, if we were lucky, and an almost dry place on the concrete to sleep if we were still more lucky.

We all had one thing in common. None of us had been questioned. And we all knew interrogation could mean a savage beating, at the very least.

I came at night and lay next to "Cabeza Rota," without a blanket for warmth. That was what they called him—"Broken Head"—because he had a five-inch gash in his scalp. His hair was a bloody mass.

He had already been "questioned" by air force officers in Colina. He

sighed and suffered with pain on the hard floor that irritated his raw shoulders and back.

He had some advice:

"When they take you for questioning, wear everything you have and protect your head."

For a long time, we newcomers lay there in the night, shivering with cold and dread of the unknown, waiting for morning.

It was a relief.

Out of the ramps and dressing rooms streamed the veterans, those who had already spent a month in the Estadio Nacional, bearded and dirty. Joking and shouting, they hung up their laundry and switched around what had been a protection against the cold in the night into a shield against the sun over the grandstands, where they would sit all day long.

Suddenly we heard a man standing on a row of seats in the south section shout to the whole stadium.

"You from the north-side dressing

able to put up stiffer resistance against the soldiers and police guarding them.

Sunday's "shows" were one example. They were led by the stadium's No. 1 operator, a boy with artificially frayed jeans and a jacket embroidered in hippie style, the one who always had cigarettes. If we meet again, he'll ask the "Swede" to loan him a hundred escudo note and that's the last I'll ever see of him.

But he stood there, with three machine guns pointed at his stomach, singing Chile's latest protest song in a mocking tone, and three thousand voices joined in the chorus.

And he sang until his voice broke about exactly what was going on, about the arbitrary arrests, about the stealing from the prisoners' packages, about the torture.

In the marketplace in San Andrés the coppers grabbed me.

Hands behind your head, march!

Hands behind your head, march!

Then the court threw me in with the hooligans in the escotillos.

My nose just drips, ish

My nose just drips, ish.

My mother sent me a package.

But the cigarettes were held for a search!

Ay, ay, the cigarettes,

Ay, ay, held for a search.

Then they took me out of the escotillo

To the bicycle track for cross-examining.

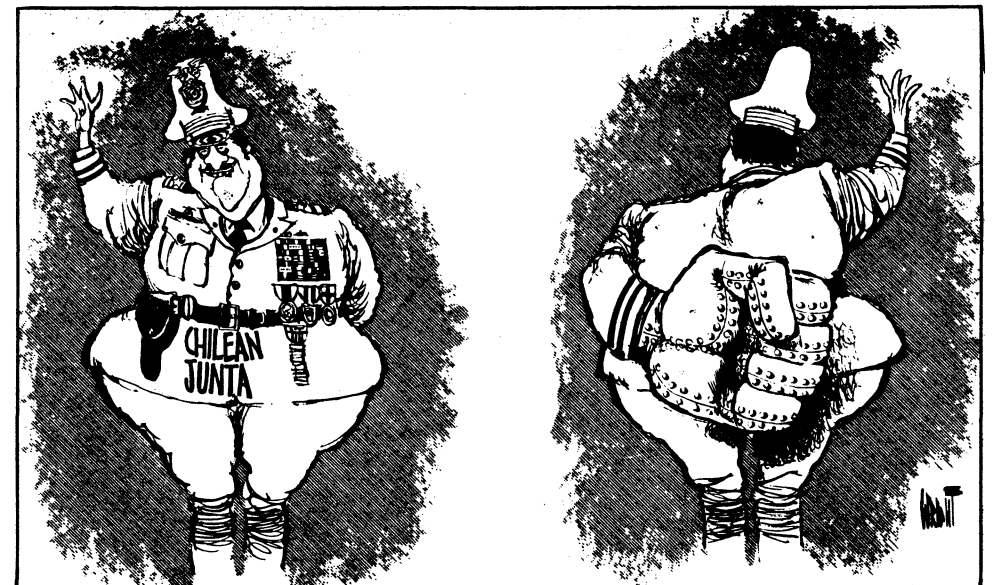
Ay, ay, for cross-examining.

Ay, ay, how the fleas bite.

Ay, ay, how the fleas bite.

And down on the football field, behind their machine guns, the "biting fleas" grimaced uneasily as the chorus swelled and broke over them.

It seemed like a constant succession of victories, and it was. But there are victories and victories. Some give hope. But these offered none. They gave only the proud self-satisfaction of winning.



And they were interspersed with crises.

There were nights when we were rousted out with gun barrels at our backs, for all sorts of incomprehensible reasons.

There were days when everything broke down and desperation surfaced. All the prisoners had already been

condemned to unemployment, to losing their homes, and to a future in which they would not be able to support their families because of being marked as "left-wing extremists."

I went into a dressing room in the north section.

Sourander, Number 11.

I had been questioned and I had sweated, without being hit once by the police captain. He just threatened to arrest my wife.

I had gotten used to the daily ration of lentil soup, and I had washed my underwear and taken a shower, an ice-cold shower.

I went to a dressing room where there were only foreigners, to face a new crisis. Among us there were thirty-two Brazilians, exiled from their country. Six of them had been taken for questioning that day.

They came back shocked.

There were men from the Brazilian secret police, the DOPS [Divisao de Ordem Politica e Social—Political and Social Order Division] among the Chilean interrogators.

Two of the Brazilians had been given the electric shock treatment. One of them had brown burn marks around his fingers.

The dressing room was called together for an emergency meeting. What should we do if the Brazilians were called tomorrow for questioning?

Stage a hunger strike? Lie down on the floor in the corridors? Elect a delegation to go to the camp commander with a "denunciation"?

Only one motion got a majority. The vote was to "wait and see." We should let the Brazilians go to interrogation first and then make our protest.

The decision was pure Russian roulette. People could be tortured. We went to "bed" silent and with bad consciences.

But the next day the Red Cross doctors were on the job. All the Brazilians questioned came back without having gotten so much as a slap.

We relaxed.

It was the "right" decision anyway.

And the day after we won a new victory. The Brazilians managed to sing the "Internationale."

The stratagem was a simple one. They sang it in a samba rhythm.

There were so many such small, fruitless, victories. The Bolivians

broke pieces of wood off the arms of the spectators' seats and carved out likenesses of the sun god Inti. As always he was sitting cross-legged. He is also supposed to have his arms crossed across his chest. But in the Estadio Nacional in free Chile he always had his left hand raised in the communist salute. And, laughing, the Bolivians sold their statuettes to ignorant noncoms for several packs of cigarettes.

But the real victories came when we found brothers, fellow human beings, among the guards. There was one of them in our section, a noncom. He was a big man with a grim look, and he listened to our problem as impassive as granite.

A Brazilian had died of an obstruction of the bowel because of lack of medical attention. Morally, his death was outright murder. An imprisoned Brazilian doctor had correctly diagnosed the case and called for an operation. The Chilean prison camp doctor had thrown out the diagnosis:

"You are an extremist and a prisoner, not a doctor."

The noncom listened, and gave three abrupt orders allowing three imprisoned doctors to tend the sick. When he was asked about treatment for the victims of torture, he said:

sent to questioning without an escort. They never came back without soup and bread being saved for them.

He was the only victor who gave us hope. But he won his own victory and we only got the fruits of it.

The Estadio Nacional is going to be cleared out and the prisoners sent to concentration camps near Antofagasta and Pizazquera.

The last of free Chile is dying, and a free Chile in the future cannot depend on tough noncoms. It has to be one that includes "Broken Head."

"They can beat the shit out of me and then they can make me eat it, but they can never kill the ideas in my head. I am a leftist and I will stay a leftist."

That was an argument often heard in the Estadio Nacional. You can kill men but not ideas.

The night we froze huddling together, "Broken Head" made another point.

"You can't kill facts either. They can't ever kill the fact that they beat the shit out of me."

I was a foreigner in the midst of all this proud misery. I was under the watchful eye of a certain man. Every prisoner in the Estadio Nacional knew the Swedish ambassador, Harald Edelstam. I had a government behind me that had responded



Chilean junta with president of the Supreme Court (center). Junta has consolidated its power through mass murder and torture.

"Here in my section, not one son of a bitch is going to be tortured."

And that's the way it was for a whole week. He was on watch every day and every day the prisoners who were interrogated came back without a scratch.

We didn't know how he did it. He was a master when it came to military bureaucracy. On the days when he had watch, prisoners were never

in the right way. I was never beaten, and I could talk back in interrogation with impunity.

But I know that if I ever see the face of someone in a crowd that I knew in the last piece of free Chile, the Estadio Nacional, I can shout: "Hola, qué tal!" and get a shining proud and hopeful answer: "Bien, Bien!"

I hope the one I meet is "Broken Head."

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French Trotskyist leader wins release from prison

Another partial victory has been won in the fight against the ban on the Ligue Communiste, former French section of the Fourth International. On October 27, the Paris appeals court upheld a lower court ruling granting release on bail to Michel Recanati, a leading member of the ex-Ligue who had been held in La Santé prison since September 17.

Recanati's release was obtained through the same legal procedure that won the release of Alain Krivine, another central leader of the ex-Ligue who had been arrested by the Pompidou regime. Yves Jouffa, Recanati's attorney, filed a motion for provisional release before Judge Alain Bernard, the examining magistrate in the case. Judge Bernard granted the motion.

As in the Krivine case, the government appealed Bernard's ruling to the appeals court. While the government's appeal was pending, the National Committee for the Abrogation of the Decree of Dissolution of the Ligue Communiste, the group that has been leading the fight against the regime's ban, organized a broad solidarity campaign.

On October 26, the day before the appeals court was due to rule on the government's case, a delegation of representatives of workers organizations visited the Ministry of Justice to express their support for Recanati. The delegation included members of the CFDT and CGT (the country's two largest trade-union federations), the FEN (the

national teachers federation), the Parti Socialiste Unifié (United Socialist party), and the Communist party.

The October 28-29 issue of the Paris daily *Le Monde* reported that it was the first time that a representative of the Communist party had agreed to participate in such a delegation along with the Committee for the Abrogation of the Decree of Dissolution of the Ligue.

The next day Recanati was ordered released on bail for 20,000 francs.

Both Recanati and Krivine were arrested for violation of the "antiwrecker law," which enables the government to charge any leader of any organization that sponsors a demonstration at which violence occurs with responsibility for the violence. The demonstration in question is the one held last June 21 by antifascist militants in Paris. They were marching against a meeting to launch a campaign against immigrant workers in France that had been organized by the fascist group Ordre Nouveau.

The antifascists clashed with police who were acting as a defense guard for the fascists.

The government banned the Ligue after the demonstration and arrested about a dozen of its leaders. Krivine and Recanati are the only ones against whom major charges are still pending. Both are scheduled to be tried under the antiwrecker law sometime this autumn, but no trial date has yet been set.

Greek dictatorship shaken by massive demonstrations

Commemoration of the fifth anniversary of the death of the liberal politician George Papandreu was turned into a massive demonstration November 4 that reminded observers of the hectic days of July 1965 when the fate of the monarchy and Greek capitalism hung in the balance.

The action began in Athens at the "first cemetery." The traditional speeches were drowned out by cries from the crowd of several thousand persons that had assembled.

"Very quickly the memorial service became a political demonstration," Marc Marceau reported in the November 6 issue of *Le Monde*. "Thousands of youth and those not so youthful . . . chanted various slogans, shouted angrily at government leaders, and struck up popular songs evoking 'a bright sky after dark clouds' or calling on those in power to 'leave the country, since the country doesn't want you.'"

Especially noticeable were such cries as "Down with Papadopoulos!" "Hang the junta!" and "Stop fascism!"

The appointment of Spyros Markezinis as premier October 1 was not overlooked by the demonstrators. Re-

ferring to Papadopoulos's efforts to construct a democratic facade for his dictatorship, they shouted: "Markezinis, masquerade!" and "Markezinis, clown!"

When the demonstrators marched into the streets they were met by strong police forces. Seventeen were arrested.

On November 8, about 2,000 students marched in the streets, calling for ouster of the government. They shouted, "Down with Papadopoulos!" "We've had enough dictatorship!" and "Free the seventeen!"

The police charged the students, clubs in hand.

When students attempted to enter the heavily guarded courtroom in downtown Athens where the seventeen were on trial, they were dispersed by the police.

Solidarity actions continued at the Athens Polytechnic University. A rally was broken up by the police and more arrests were made.

Le Monde reported that of the original seventeen students, ten had been freed pending a court ruling on the charges placed against them. The others were held under "preventive detention."

Argentine Trotskyists explain position on Palestine

[The following statement was published in the October 24 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, the weekly paper of the Argentine PST (Partido Socialista de los Trabajadores—Socialist Workers party, a sympathizing section of the Fourth International). The translation is by *Intercontinental Press*.]

In the October 10 issue of *Avanzada Socialista*, we made the following statement on the Middle East: "We call on the Jewish compañeros not to be caught up in the racist and reactionary demagoguery of the Israeli state and imperialism, and to support the just

in general terms, is the one we maintained in *La Verdad* at the time of the "Six-Day War" in 1967.

The leadership of our party has again discussed this question and revised our position regarding the right of the Jews to self-determination and to a state of their own in Palestine.

We realize that the most correct formula is to support the creation—in the territory today occupied by the Zionist state—of a single, nonracist, secular Palestinian state offering extensive democratic guarantees to all its inhabitants.

tions and laws of several Arab states). At the same time, it would guarantee every one of its inhabitants full freedom to practice any kind of worship they may choose or to have no religion if they prefer.

Such a secular Palestinian state would abolish the racial privileges, discrimination, and persecution that exist today in the Zionist state and would guarantee all its citizens—whether of Arab, Jewish, or Druze origin—equal democratic rights. That is, the right to speak and teach their native language and to publish periodicals and books in it, equality in public and private employment as well as in wages, and equality in elections to public or trade-union positions.

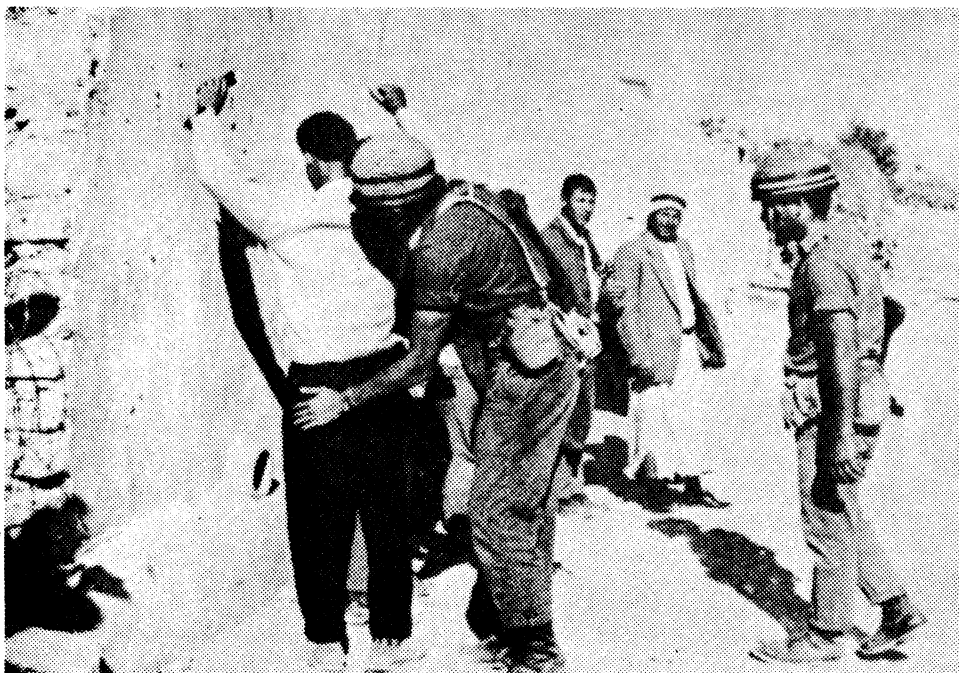
Some readers might raise the following objections: "We agree that Dayan, Golda Meir, and their gang have to be gotten rid of, but why do we put forward the slogan of a single Palestinian state? Obviously, this would guarantee the Arabs' right to self-determination, since they would be the majority in such a Palestinian state. But isn't this going to impinge on the right to self-determination of the Jews, who must not be thrown into the same bag as Dayan and his gang?"

The answer is very simple: *Revolutionary Marxists defend the right to self-determination of the oppressed and not the oppressors.*

The right to self-determination is a concrete problem, not an arithmetical question of majorities and minorities. We defend the right to self-determination of the "Catholic" nationalist minority against the pro-British "Protestant" majority because the first are oppressed by the second. For the same reason, we support the Black majority in Rhodesia, South Africa, and the Portuguese colonies against the white minority that enslaves them in the most savage way. What should we propose, for example, in the case of South Africa? Self-determination for the Blacks . . . and also for the whites who even deny that the Blacks are human?

The case of Israel is similar to those of Rhodesia, South Africa, or Algeria before the revolution. As in these cases, the imperialists "imported" a colonializing minority, and it robbed millions of Palestinians of their land as well as their national and human rights. Just as in South Africa, where the Blacks are shut up like cattle in "native reserves," millions of Palestinians live in the poverty of the "refugee camps" in Lebanon, Syria, and Jordan. Furthermore, the Palestinians have been the victims of massacres perpetrated by the Zionists or their Arab accomplices, the reactionary governments of Lebanon and Jordan. The Palestinians who remained in Israel have been subjected to a system of Nazi-like terror. The so-called "Administrative Regulations" law—patterned on the racist Apartheid laws in South Africa—confines them to certain places that they cannot leave without passes; it establishes zones that they cannot enter or reside in, these being reserved for the Zionist "master race." It puts them at the mercy of "commissioners" with full powers to arrest, transfer, and deport the inhabitants of the Arab areas, to take possession of any article or object belonging to an Arab, to carry out raids at any moment, impose restrictions on employment or businesses, confiscate any land or house, and so on. Violations of this "law" (of the jungle) come under the jurisdiction of military tribunals. And this is only one of many racist laws applied to the Palestinians.

Who, then, are the oppressors, and who are the oppressed? Who have the right to self-determination? Here the matter is simple and concrete. The first and immediate need is to restore to the oppressed people their land and their national and democratic rights. And at the same time, all Jews who want to live in peace and brotherhood with the Arabs, without exploiting them, and who do not want to be cannon fodder for Dayan and the Yankee imperialists, must be guaranteed equal democratic rights as citizens of a nonracist, secular Palestinian state.



"The Palestinians who remained in Israel have been subjected to a system of Nazi-like terror."

war of the Arabs against one of the most reactionary states in history—Israel.

"We appeal to the Arab compañeros to support the Jewish workers in the struggle against their bosses and imperialism, to support the right of the Jewish people to self-determination, and to have their own state in the framework of a Federation of Middle Eastern Socialist States." This position,

A secular state means that it would not be based on any religion or support any "official" religion, including Islam and Christianity. A secular Palestinian state would not be based on the "Old Testament and the prophets of Israel," as the present Zionist state is, nor on the Koran (the scriptures of the Islamic religion supposedly written by Mohammed under divine inspiration, which govern the constitu-

the Northrop project.

The Thai daily *Siam Rath* published confidential government memoranda indicating that none other than Dawee Chullasapaya, the present defense minister, had suppressed objections of Thai technicians and government officials to the project.

The difficulties the Thai ruling class faces in pulling off its planned election maneuver are many. Premier Sanya has promised that a new constitution will be drawn up within six months, to be followed three months later by general elections. The form of the new constitution, the role of the military in the future government, and the right of all political parties to run in the elections are questions that many of the students will have opinions on.

In addition, labor unrest has been on the rise. The October 21 *New York Times* observed that "at a steel factory last summer, management refused to provide transportation for a badly injured machinist to be taken to the hospital. When the foreman complained, he was arrested and jailed for two weeks."

"In the past, such things would have gone unnoticed. But by last summer

the whole nation was simmering with anger. The first strike in Thai history took place. In most cases, police refused to move in on demonstrating strikers. University students joined the marches, bringing food to the workers."

The 12 percent annual rate of inflation and rice shortages have also angered large sections of the population. The October 29 *Newsweek* noted the international implications that the

successful student uprising might have. "While maintenance of Thai links with the U.S. boded well for stability, the example of the Thai coup itself may have an unsettling effect on Asia as a whole. For like the ousted Thanom, the leaders of South Korea, the Philippines and Cambodia have also been charged with ignoring demands for democratic reforms—and their opponents may now draw inspiration from the Thai students' surprising success."



Thai student uprising 'may have an unsettling effect on Asia as a whole.'

...Thailand

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in 1968, he was awarded his position at Exim [U.S. Export-Import] Bank as soon as the Administration came to power.

"In 1966, out-of-office Richard Nixon arrived in Bangkok carrying briefs for Pepsi Cola and other American companies. Kearns, who was in Bangkok setting up Siam Kraft Paper Company, is remembered for arranging the future president's itinerary. These ties plus Kearns' Thai business links with Maurice Stans, former secretary of commerce and more recently chairman of the Committee to Re-elect the President (the ill-fated CREP which began the Watergate affair), justifiably or not left Kearns vulnerable to rumors. . . ."

Because of the increased interest of Thai journalists in the possible connections between Watergate and the airport project, Kearns resigned as president of the Export-Import Bank and muted his exuberance for



Guardian & Raza Unida-II

Last week I discussed an article by Carlos Calderon, printed in the Oct. 17 *Guardian*, concerning La Raza Unida Party.

I pointed to the distortion of facts used by Calderon to make it appear that there is a big crisis in La Raza Unida brought on by running in elections. The sectarian Calderon opposes participation in elections by the *partido*.

Calderon also misrepresents the position of Colorado party leader Corky Gonzales and his differences with Texas party leader José Angel Gutiérrez, who was elected chairman of the *Congreso de Aztlán* at the September 1972 convention of Raza Unida parties.

According to Calderon there are two main forces in the *partido* today: those who "overemphasize" electoral politics, led by Gutiérrez, and the "cultural nationalists," led by Gonzales. Gonzales supports *El Plan Espiritual de Aztlán*, which Calderon falsely claims has been dismissed by the Chicano movement as "mystical" and "impractical."

What is the *Plan de Aztlán* and what does Gonzales really stand for? The *Plan de Aztlán*, written in 1969, is a call for political, social, and cultural autonomy for the Chicano people. It also called for the formation of a Chicano party independent of the Democrats and Republicans.

The Crusade for Justice, the Colorado Chicano organization of which Gonzales is a founder, sponsors many activities of a cultural nature, such as the Ballet Chicano of Aztlán. Such activities are one important side of the struggle for liberation.

However, neither the *Plan de Aztlán*, the Crusade for Justice, nor Corky Gonzales advocates "cultural nationalism" alone. That is, unlike Calderon, they do not counterpose Chicano culture to the need for political struggle.

Gonzales and the Colorado Raza Unida Party have also opposed the capitalist parties at the polls as often as possible, and they do not consider this to be an "overemphasis" on elections.

Gonzales has become a national figure in La Raza

Unida because of his unwavering opposition to the Democrats and Republicans. He was the leading spokesman for those forces at the September 1972 convention who successfully pushed for adoption of a clear statement of no support to either of the major parties. At that meeting, Gutiérrez backed off from presenting his "balance of power" strategy. The problem with this strategy was not that it "overemphasized" electoral politics but that it provided for supporting Democrats or Republicans under certain conditions.

Calderon is essentially correct on one point—when he describes the pernicious role of the Communist Party in La Raza Unida. The CP has indeed sought to tie the independent Chicano party to the coattails of the Democrats.

And, I might add, the CP tries to blunt the nationalist character of La Raza Unida.

However, Calderon's policy of electoral abstention actually makes it easier for the CP to drum up support for liberal Democrats, because abstention fails to give Chicanos an alternative.

Calderon is also right when he says that the *partido* must root itself in community struggles. So it is certainly ironic when, after dishonestly attacking other currents in La Raza Unida, Calderon goes on to speak favorably of the Maoist clique in the Los Angeles Raza Unida Party, the Labor Committee.

This group is so sectarian that it has never participated in, let alone helped build, any of the actions in Los Angeles against the racist deportations. It refuses to work with the antideportation organization CASA.

In addition, the Labor Committee has never lifted a finger to aid any of the election campaigns of the other Los Angeles chapters, nor has it ever run one of its own.

If there is anything approaching a "crisis" in La Raza Unida today, it is where the *partido* has not taken advantage of the elections—in California.

It now has a first-rate opportunity to make up for that by running an energetic campaign for governor in 1974.

Prison reform

By all means renew my subscription. My *Militant*, after being read thoroughly by me, is passed along to my fellow prisoners. We definitely enjoy this paper immensely due to the wide and thorough coverage.

We (approximately 200), the prisoners that are now on the death house "prisoner lock-up," better known as the South Wing dehumanizing unit of the Maryland Penitentiary, are constantly being subjected to cruel and inhuman treatment by the "storm troopers."

This death wing is infested with rodents and cockroaches. The small portion of food that we're forced to consume in our cages is always cold. We must eat out of paper cups and plastic spoons, that is providing the troopers give us spoons.

But we are grateful for the one shower given us each week, even though the water is never regulated for body temperature. This isn't really important because we aren't in the showers long enough to matter. For physical exercise we are allowed to walk in front of our cells for 20 minutes once a week. Sick call for prisoners who become ill is nonexistent. The only way to be taken to the prison hospital is by either attempting suicide or creating a disturbance and risking being beaten by the troopers. We are denied all sanitation utensils to sanitize these filthy stinking cages.

Society hears so much about but sees so little of prison reform. I have personally been taken to the warden here to voice my and others' complaints, all to no avail. It is our hope that through *The Militant*, society will be enlightened to the dehumanizing treatment administered in these concentration camps.

A prisoner
Baltimore, Md.

Black lawyers

The fight of Black advocates to be licensed to practice law on the basis of the same criteria used to license whites has culminated in a lawsuit against the State Bar of Michigan and its State Board of Law Examiners.

The case was argued by Max L. Hardeman in the federal district court in Detroit, Mich. Mr. Hardeman is a New York-based tax consultant and the named party plaintiff in the case. The case was brought on behalf of all Black applicants to the Michigan bar and on behalf of all people who need competent counsel.

Evidence has been submitted to the court showing that approximately one-third of the Blacks who take the Michigan bar examination pass, compared with approximately 88 percent of the whites. The defendants contend this shows whites pass in gross disproportion to Blacks. The court was referred to the case of *Chance v. Board of Examiners*, in which a lesser disproportion was sufficient evidence of racial discrimination to warrant relief.

D. M.
New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of general interest to our readers. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if your name may be used or if you prefer that your initials be used instead.

National Picket Line

Frank Lovell



Issues in News strike

A long and heated meeting of 1,000 striking New York Newspaper Guild members took place Nov. 7. The meeting concluded with a decision to end their two-day strike at the *Daily News* and accept management's final contract proposal.

After hearing the proposal and a report by Peter McLaughlin, chairman of the *News* unit and leader of the strike, a long list of rank-and-file speakers lined up at the microphone to express their opinions. There was no question that the meeting was democratically conducted and when the vote was taken it represented the will of the overwhelming majority.

But most members who came out of that meeting and headed back to work at the *Daily News* did so grudgingly. They felt cheated. They thought their union leaders had failed to untangle the complex problems in the newspaper industry, and that the publishers had gotten the upper hand.

The printing industry is undergoing a technological revolution with the change from hot lead to cold type. The Linotype machine is being displaced by vastly more efficient computerized systems, and thousands of workers stand to lose their jobs. Automation has become the basic problem in negotiations between newspaper owners and the printing-trades unions.

There are 10 unions in the newspaper field—nine crafts and the Guild. At most they ask for guarantees that no workers now employed will be let go, and that the work force will be reduced gradually by attrition.

But all the Guild got was a guarantee that employees with 20 years or more service will not be dismissed.

A peculiar thing had happened a few hours after the strike began. The *New York Times* unit of the Guild signed substantially the same agreement that the *News* unit turned down when they struck.

Jack Deegan, executive vice-president of the New York Newspaper Guild, was blamed for this situa-

tion. The strikers at the *News* charged that Deegan had sold them out by encouraging Guild members at the *Times* to grab the publishers' offer. After this happened, all but two of the craft unions said they would no longer honor the Guild picket lines.

Deegan admitted he had opposed the strike from the beginning. But he denied responsibility for forcing the *News* strikers back to work. He claimed he had not known what was going on in the negotiations with the *Times*.

The strike leadership, McLaughlin and others, promised it would not happen again. They vowed to get rid of the incompetent top leadership of the Guild.

"Management's final offer" was submitted by the *News* unit negotiating committee "without any recommendation." Some of the strikers saw through this subterfuge and demanded to know how the committee intended to vote. McLaughlin said he would vote for the proposal, as did others on the committee, though not all.

The truth is that these secondary leaders are not much different from top bureaucrats like Deegan; they're only younger. They like to sound militant, but they duck the fundamental issue.

All these short-sighted leaders concede "management prerogatives" to control production. This gives up the battle before the fighting starts. Workers have the right to benefit from technological advances, not suffer from them. In the face of automation, the unions should demand shorter hours of work with no loss of pay. For technological progress to serve the workers' interests rather than line the bosses' pockets, the unions will have to fight for workers' control over production.

To tackle such basic social, economic, and political questions will be the task of a revitalized and reorganized union movement, with a new leadership.

The old dodge, "Well, fellows, what do you say?" does not win strikes. Leaders have the responsibility to lead.



Situation normal, all gummed up—If your car engine is sputtering a bit more than usual lately, it's only dirty gas. What with the gas shortage, an auto dealers' spokesman explained, "some gas stations are apparently pumping from the bottom of the barrel. What goes into the customer's gas tank is an accumulation of water, sludge, and miscellaneous debris."

The march of civilization—Leisure Products is offering a computerized home minibar. Only \$1,800. Feed it a punch card for a made-to-measure martini, or whatever slakes your thirst. The punch cards, the company advises, can also be used to decorate the Xmas tree. Like, tie one on but don't fold, spindle, or mutilate.

Do-it-yourself dep't—The Rocky Mountain Casket Company of Whitefish, Mont., is offering a handcrafted,

unfinished knotty pine casket. \$125, plus shipping. Finish it in your own favorite decorator color. Before occupying it, use it as a bookshelf, coffee table, gun cabinet, or pool cue rack. An extra \$10 brings four shelves and two wine racks.

Padded cell at the top—Life just underneath the top is rough, according to Dr. Henry Wright, director of a London medical center for executives. The man who is No. 1 may be "tough, unpleasant, lonely, and unhappy," he observes, but it's usually No. 2 who cracks up. "Top people," he reports, "particularly those who are a bit manic depressive or obsessional—as they often are—produce an awful lot of stress in their subordinates."

Breathe deep everyone—The federal Council on Environmental Quality re-

ports a small decrease in nationwide emissions of sulphur dioxide and hydrocarbons, but an accelerating increase in the concentration of carbon dioxide in the world's atmosphere. The amount of "particulate matter"—smoke and dust—increased 6 percent in one year.

Counterinsurgency—Vowing its determination to end the "eight-cent ripoff," the Pacific Telephone Company of Southern California will now refuse postage-due letters from billpayers. A spokesman said 2.3 percent of the company's six million customers deliberately refuse to put postage on their envelopes, and this costs Pacific \$140,000 a year. Which must be almost as much as it costs to dream up those rigged message zones where you get charged extra for calling someone across the street.



"Now, If You Just Put This On And Listen Very Carefully —"

Women In Revolt

Stewardesses on strike

Linda Jenness is speaking at a number of Militant 45th anniversary celebrations. The following guest column was written by Mirta Vidal.

If working people as a whole are having a hard time making ends meet these days, women workers are having an even harder time.

Take, for example, the Trans World Airlines stewardesses. TWA flight attendants have not gotten a raise since 1971. Their last contract expired in mid-1972. Their low wages prompted TWA's 5,100 flight attendants, 90 percent of whom are women, to walk off the job on Nov. 5. Their strike has paralyzed the airline.

According to Transport Workers Union President Matthew Guinan, TWA is "trying to break the back" of the unions representing its workers, and flight attendants are its first target.

The average starting pay of TWA flight attendants is a meager \$482 a month. The Airline Stewards and Stewardesses Association, an arm of the TWU, is demanding a 27-month contract providing for a 7 percent wage increase the first year, a 2 percent raise—plus 5 percent in fringe benefits—the second year, and 2 percent for the last three months.

The company has instead offered them a three-year contract, with a 3 percent wage increase the

first year, 2 percent as of the date of agreement, and 3 percent the last year. It is also offering only partially retroactive pay. The flight attendants have rejected the company's offer.

Through a "mutual aid pact" TWA is getting \$2-million a day from other airlines while the strike lasts. This supplements the \$53.1-million in profits TWA raked in during the first nine months of this year.

If the TWA workers have not seen the fruits of these profits, the executives certainly have. TWA President Weiser's yearly salary, for example, went from \$91,557 in 1970 to \$272,955 in 1972.

To get the point of view of the strikers, I went out to Newark airport. Two stewardesses picketing TWA explained some of their grievances.

"The company is not only not meeting our demands," one said. "They want to even go back on our last contract. For instance, they want to take away a provision for private rooms which we now have on international flights."

"They are also trying to make us work longer hours without paying us any more money."

And this is only part of the story.

Female flight attendants have to put up with dehumanizing working conditions and are subjected to humiliating standards imposed by the airline

companies.

To make the airlines more appealing to prospective customers, the stewardesses are sold as a sexual commodity.

"They are not nearly as strict about physical qualifications for male flight attendants," explained one of the women picketing. "They are very strict with women."

If you're just one pound overweight, for example, they will not hire you. Once hired, "If you put on any weight, they put you on a plan and weigh you periodically to make sure you're losing weight."

These were some of the issues that led to the formation of Stewardesses For Women's Rights (SFWR) a year ago. SFWR held its first conference in March. The emergence of this organization is testimony to the growing impact of feminist ideas on working women.

Judi Lindsey, one of the organizers of the March conference, views SFWR as an organization that "concerns itself with all aspects of discrimination against women on the job, while the union has so far limited itself to hour and salary issues."

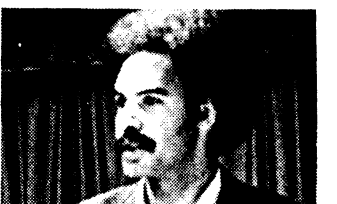
"The TWA strike," she told *The Militant* "just points out what SFWR has been saying all along—that we aren't treated like people."



Linda Jenness

By Any Means Necessary

Baxter Smith



How not to support African Liberation -II

The following is a guest column by Rob Wright, a member of the Young Socialist Alliance and a founder of the Connecticut African Liberation Support Committee.

In last week's By Any Means Necessary Baxter Smith explained why the Communist Party's recent "anti-imperialist" conference in Chicago won't serve to advance the cause of African liberation.

He touched on what happened at the "Oil, Palestine and Middle East" workshop. Having attended that workshop, and feeling very strongly about what went down there, I'd like to explain in more detail what happened.

About 50 people attended. Two CPers chaired; one was Carl Bloice, editor of the *People's World*, the CP's West Coast weekly.

A proposal was made to support the United Nations Security Council Resolution 242, calling for Israel to withdraw from Arab territories occupied during the June 1967 war. In return, Israel is guaranteed "secure" borders. The CPers—emulating their mentors in Moscow—told us that the UN

resolution would guarantee peace in the Mideast.

Several militants expressed strong opposition to this proposal, arguing that peace is not possible so long as the colonial settler-state of Israel exists. These Black nationalist and Pan-Africanist militants explained that the Zionist state was based on the expulsion of the Palestinian Arabs from their homeland.

One brother said, "If we come up shaky concerning Israel, what are we going to do when the question shifts to the elimination of the racist settler-state of South Africa?"

Representatives of the Palestine Liberation Organization who were present condemned Israel in similar terms.

The militants called for dismantling the Israeli state and establishing a democratic Palestine open to the return of the Palestinian refugees. The basis for this position is the right of self-determination of the Palestinian people.

The CP members present were stunned by the opposition and attempted to put across the idea that a "two-stage process" was necessary. First a

return to the pre-1967 borders, and then sometime in the future the problem of the Palestinians would be worked out. Although the militants wanted the vague second half of this process spelled out, it never was.

The existence of the Zionist state violates the right to self-determination of the Palestinians. And, as a tool of U.S. imperialism, Israel is used to block the struggle of all the Arab peoples for national liberation. Thus support for Israel's right to exist—even when it comes from self-proclaimed "communists"—is a counterrevolutionary position.

The majority of the workshop participants adopted the proposal calling for the dismantling of the Zionist state and the establishment of a democratic Palestine. But, because of the bureaucratic manner in which the conference was run, this revolutionary sentiment was never reported back to the plenary. The proposal reported was the one supporting the UN resolution.

A movement to defend the African liberation fighters—a stated purpose of the Chicago meeting—will not be built on the basis of such deceit.

Rulers debate impeachment vs. resignation

Nixon 'counteroffensive' off to slow start

By CINDY JAQUITH

President Nixon marked the first anniversary of his second term by announcing the launching of yet another "counteroffensive" against the mounting tide demanding his ouster from office.

At the close of his Nov. 7 address on the "energy crisis," Nixon acknowledged that the Watergate events have raised "doubts as to the integrity of the man who occupies the highest office in this land." However, he declared, "I have no intention whatever of walking away from the job I was elected to do."

'Inaudibility gap'

Nixon's counteroffensive got off to a miserable start the very next day as Judge John Sirica heard further testimony on the tapes case, also known as the "inaudibility gap." Nixon's

on's personal secretary, Rose Mary Woods, testified that "there are lots of funny things" on the tapes.

"If the president puts his feet on the desk, it sounds like a bomb. Boom," said Woods. "Sometimes the president would whistle," she added, and once, a band just happened to start playing right in the middle of an important conversation.

Woods's lack of credibility was matched only by H. R. Haldeman's lack of memory. Asked in court to testify about the tapes he had listened to, the former top aide to Nixon seemed stricken with amnesia. In one typical exchange with the federal prosecutors, Haldeman was asked what tapes he checked out in July:

"I don't remember," he responded.

"Why did you get them?"

"I'm not sure of that."

An ABC-TV poll has already shown that only 17 percent of the population believes Nixon's story about the "nonexistent" tapes. The latest White House excuses will only deepen this conviction that the president has either destroyed or doctored the recordings.

Public opinion surveys continue to show a decline in support for Nixon. A Daniel Yankelovich poll has found that only 49 percent of the population believes Nixon should stay in office, compared with 60 percent in August. Twenty-nine percent favor the president's resignation, while 10 percent back impeachment.

Nearly 43 percent of those polled supported the idea of holding new presidential elections in 1974.

AFL-CIO and impeachment

The AFL-CIO is now circulating a statement demanding Nixon's impeachment and listing 19 reasons. The crimes cited include approving the 1970 spy plan, covering up the Ellsberg burglary, halting an investiga-

tion of ITT, and accepting payoffs from the dairy industry. AFL-CIO officials say that packets of the statement are being sent to union locals "as a leaflet for mass distribution at plant gates, union meetings and . . . mailings."

In the meantime, the rulers of this country continue to debate Nixon's fate from the point of view of how they can restore faith in capitalist institutions. *Time* magazine pointed out in its Nov. 19 issue that the debate now centers "less on whether Nixon should remain in office than on which would be the less harmful means of his removal: resignation or impeachment and trial."

The *Wall St. Journal*, for example, has argued that resignation requires no proof of Nixon's guilt. "Is that the kind of constitutional precedent we want to set?" the editors asked. "We doubt that our institutions ought to evolve toward changing Presidents with every change in the public mood."

Fear of mass pressure

The stock brokers and bankers represented by the *Journal* have no desire to see mass pressure replace Congress as the "constitutional" way of dealing with crooked presidents. The impeachment course appeals to them as the best way to keep the Watergate crisis within the confines of capitalist institutions.

"Liberal" columnist Tom Wicker raised another argument against resignation. Impeachment, he wrote in the *New York Times*, would at least clear the air and settle the question of Nixon's guilt once and for all. Resignation, on the other hand, "might well insure rather than prevent continuing suspicion and bitterness in American politics."

Time magazine and other supporters of the resignation plan have point-

ed out that impeachment proceedings would dig up scandals much worse than those already divulged.

The real opinions of many participants in the debate remain secret. Columnists Rowland Evans and Robert Novak wrote Nov. 8 that "Republican Senators who still have not uttered a single word critical of Nixon say privately he must resign once Rep. Ford is confirmed as Vice President."

Evans and Novak said that the much-publicized meetings between Nixon and Republican members of Congress are at best "11th-hour efforts to avoid the President's resignation," and probably doomed to failure.

In the midst of this anti-Nixon storm, the Stalinist bureaucrats in the Soviet Union have rushed to defend him once again. The Nov. 12 issue of *Pravda* made the feelings of the Soviet leaders known by quoting at length remarks by U.S. Secretary of Commerce Frederick Dent.

"Those who insist on the President's resignation . . . are called by Dent a 'vengeful and irresponsible group,'" *Pravda* said. The paper also quoted Dent's condemnation of "those American circles and press organs which in connection with the Watergate affair subject President Nixon to rude attacks."

Uppermost in the minds of Brezhnev and Co. is preservation of "peaceful coexistence." According to *New York Times* reporter Hedrick Smith, stationed in Moscow, ". . . they still consider [Nixon] preferable—insiders here make that clear—to any possible alternative in Washington as a partner for détente."

It seems that Billy Graham has a more realistic appraisal of Nixon's state of affairs. "I pray for the president," Graham said. "I cry for him. If he asked me for spiritual advice, I'd give it to him. But he hasn't."



NIXON: How long can he hold back drive to throw him out?

Maximum John's minimum sentences

By BAXTER SMITH

Judge "Maximum John" Sirica earned his nickname for consistently dishing out the maximum sentences to those who came before his bench.

Not surprisingly, especially in Washington, D. C., a disproportionate number of Maximum John's victims have been Black.

But, in the Watergate case, Maximum John has reformed his ways. His sentences for the Watergate burglars were unusually light.

The three anti-Castro Cuban exiles, Sturgis, Martinez, and Gonzalez, with time off for good behavior, will be home for Christmas. McCord and Barker got slightly heavier sentences, and may be in prison until summer. E. Howard Hunt, alleged novelist and former CIA spook, drew the longest sentence, two-and-a-half to eight years.

"I've given you the lowest minimum I thought is justified under the circumstances of this case," declared Maximum John.

A few days later, another Watergater, Donald Segretti, sitting behind the wheel of a white Mercedes-Benz, drove himself to a minimum security prison camp in California to begin a six-month sentence for assorted Watergate crimes. Segretti's "camp" has no fences or cells and prisoners are free to walk

around the grounds.

What a change from the treatment handed out by Maximum John, and a thousand other black-robed Maximum Johns, sitting in judgment of "common criminals" in courtrooms throughout the country!

What a contrast between the fate of the Watergate gang and that of countless innocent Blacks who are railroaded for petty crimes to 10, 15, or 20 years!

What a contrast to the many frame-ups of Black political activists!

Take the case of Brother Martin Sostre in New York. Last May, the chief prosecution witness against him told the court that he had lied during earlier testimony that resulted in the frame-up of Sostre.

Sostre was sentenced in 1968 to 30 to 41 years for supposedly selling narcotics to this witness, Arto Williams. Williams admitted that local cops wanted to "get" Sostre, who ran a Black bookstore, and persuaded him to lie in court. Despite this revelation, Sostre still sits in jail awaiting a new trial.

Another case is that of Brother Ben Chavis, who faces 34 years for allegedly sparking a Black revolt in 1971 in Wilmington, N. C. At one time Chavis had some 200 prison years

hanging over his head from racist frame-ups.

More incredible is the case of Elmer Davis, the Black man who was framed for allegedly burgling Daniel Ellsberg's psychiatrist's office. He's still in jail, though it's known that the actual burglary was done by the Watergate gang.

One of the most striking cases of capitalist justice concerns "law and order" Agnew. He was slapped with

a fine and unsupervised probation for bilking Maryland contractors, tax evasion, and other crimes for which he raked in thousands.

Contrast to this the "justice" awarded Brother George Jackson. He served 10 years under an indeterminate sentence for allegedly robbing \$70 from a gas station. And as we all know, prison guards even made him pay for the barbarity of capitalist justice with his life.



"The court finds you guilty of stealing \$75 and sentences you to 10 years . . . Next case!"

Mounting protests against Watergate spur support for Political Rights Defense Fund

By CINDY JAQUITH

The latest Watergate events and protest activities have focused new interest on the Political Rights Defense Fund, reports PRDF National Field Secretary Michael Arnall.

Arnall is conducting a speaking and organizing tour to win support for the suit against government Watergating filed by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance.

The PRDF is organizing publicity and fund raising for the suit, which was filed last July by the prominent attorney Leonard Boudin. The plaintiffs charge Richard Nixon and other

questions about his activities at the White House. The panel would include such people as the head of the student government, editor of the school newspaper, prominent professors, a representative of the PRDF, a YSA member, and others.

"There are many teach-ins on Watergate where PRDF speakers are welcome," Arnall continued. "For example, I spoke on a talk show in Chicago with two members of the National Lawyers Guild. They were working on an impeachment rally and wanted to have a PRDF representative speak. We also discussed inviting

to entrap people on drug charges and to send agents into schools when no one wanted them there."

Black congressmen Charles Rangel (D-N.Y.) and Ronald Dellums (D-Calif.) have endorsed the suit.

Witch-hunt victims

Another group of people especially receptive to the PRDF suit are victims of the witch-hunting by the government in the 1950s, Arnall reported. One of the new endorsers of the PRDF, for example, is Saul Wellman, a disabled veteran who lost his pension during the McCarthy period because he was a leader of the Communist Party.

In Texas, John Henry Faulk, a well-known entertainer who launched his own suit against blacklisting in the 1950s, has endorsed the PRDF. Faulk discussed the SWP suit in a recent appearance on a Memphis TV show.

Another PRDF endorser is Morris Bogdanow, a Houston attorney who defended many victims of blacklisting during the witch-hunt.

Arnall said the PRDF is also seeking the support of trade unionists. One important endorsement in this regard has come from Neal Bratcher, director of one of the three Illinois districts of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees (AFSCME). Bratcher is Black and one of the leaders of the Coalition for Jobs and Economic Justice in Chicago.

Arnall said that some people have asked him why the suit involves only plaintiffs from the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance. Why not include all groups and individuals who have been victimized by the government?

"I answer that question by explaining that this is a test case. The SWP is a legal party that has run presidential election campaigns since 1948.

mistake was made by many liberals and others in the 1950s by not defending the Socialist Workers Party or the Communist Party because they did not support their political views. That just encouraged the government to carry out further victimizations."

The PRDF is cooperating with the plaintiffs in other Watergate suits, such as the suits filed by Jane Fonda and Morton Halperin, the National Lawyers Guild suit to overturn the 1972 elections, and the suit by Lori Paton, the New Jersey high school student who was harassed by the FBI for writing an inquiry to the SWP.

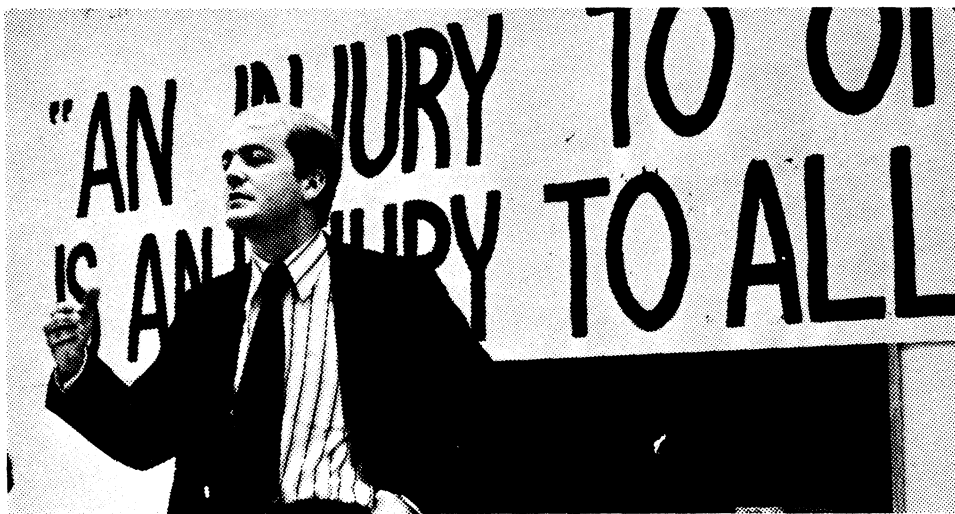
If Nixon goes?

Arnall said many people ask him what will happen to the suit if Nixon resigns or is impeached. "This question sometimes comes from people who have been actively campaigning for impeachment but recognize that things like the spy plan won't end when Nixon leaves the White House. They see our suit, which will continue no matter who is in office, as an ongoing way to fight for our rights."

Arnall gave the example of a student at Monmouth College in Illinois who was active in building a local impeachment demonstration. After Arnall's visit, the student volunteered to become the PRDF representative on campus.

"I also spoke at a class at Central Michigan University in Mount Pleasant. There, out of 65 people, 35 signed up to maintain contact with PRDF activities. One student gave me a \$5 contribution and the professor gave me \$50," Arnall reported.

"There's plenty for these volunteers to do," Arnall said. One idea PRDF activists have raised is holding public hearings, where representatives of organizations that have been harassed by the government, such as the SWP,



Political Rights Defense Fund spokesman Michael Arnall

Militant/Steven Fuchs

present and past government officials with illegal surveillance, wiretapping, mail tampering, burglary, and bombing.

Arnall spoke to audiences in Texas, Missouri, Michigan, Minnesota, Illinois, and Indiana. He is currently touring in New York City. In an interview with *The Militant*, he described how support for the suit has increased as the pace of events at the White House has quickened.

"People are no longer skeptical about our bringing charges against the president of the U.S.," Arnall explained. "Now they ask questions like, 'What steps will you take to get Nixon into court?' and 'What kinds of questions will you ask him?'"

Newspaper reporters, he added, are especially interested in how Nixon will respond to the socialists' charges. The president's answer to the summons and complaint filed by the SWP and YSA is due Nov. 24.

Debate with Huston

The growth of Watergate-related protests has opened up important opportunities for the PRDF, Arnall reported. A radio station in Indianapolis, for example, has volunteered to host a debate between a member of the YSA and Tom Charles Huston, a defendant named in the suit for his role in authoring the 1970 spy plan.

In Bloomington, Ind., the PRDF is working with the University of Indiana student government to bring Huston to the campus (his alma mater) to face a panel and answer

someone like Jane Fonda, who has her own suit against government harassment."

Arnall said he recently spoke at a meeting of this type in Detroit at Highland Park Community College. Sixty-five students attended, most of them Black. The other speakers were Judy Hagans of the YSA, the editor of the student newspaper, the treasurer of the student government, and a professor.

Black response to suit

Arnall said that the Blacks who come to his meetings and news conferences are especially interested in the PRDF case as it relates to government surveillance of Black political activists.

"In Detroit I was interviewed by Martha Jean 'The Queen,' a popular Black disc jockey," he said. "We talked about the possible information that our case and others like it might turn up about the assassinations of Dr. Martin Luther King and Malcolm X."

"Martha Jean pointed out that the FBI has admitted its surveillance of King from morning 'til night. It was clear to her that they must know something about his death."

The *East St. Louis Crusader*, a Black newspaper, also interviewed Arnall on the implications of the SWP suit for further investigations into attacks on Black groups, particularly the Black Panther Party.

In Houston, Arnall shared the platform at one meeting with a former Treasury Department agent and a local district attorney. The meeting was a workshop during the Texas Bill of Rights Foundation conference for high school honors students.

"This agent displayed all his surveillance equipment and bragged about how he had infiltrated high schools to arrest young people for drug use," Arnall said. "I spoke right after him and said we had a suit that was aimed at preventing this kind of thing, and the students thought that was great."

"During the discussion period, this agent was raked over the coals, primarily by the Black students present. They based their questions on my talk, asking how it could be 'legal'



Sid Sattler

Black supporters of socialist suit hope it will help uncover evidence on police attacks against Panthers and other Black activists.

(No other radical group has been this active on the electoral front.)

"This suit is aimed especially at government attacks on the SWP's right to run candidates for office and attacks on the rights of the party's campaign supporters. This isn't just an educational campaign but an attempt to actually get an injunction against the government's undemocratic practices. That's why we need a clearly defined list of charges and plaintiffs."

"Needless to say," Arnall added, "any victories won by this suit will set an important precedent for other groups similarly harassed."

"And I always remind my audiences that while repression begins with organizations like the SWP and YSA it does not end there. The witch-hunt taught us that if we don't stand united on defending the right to protest, we will all fall separately. A tremendous

the Black Panthers, and the Communist Party, would testify.

"Another opportunity to get out the word is at meetings where prominent endorsers of the suit are speaking, such as Gloria Steinem or Dick Gregory. PRDF activists will be there with our Watergate buttons and literature," Arnall said.

In Illinois, the PRDF chapter is planning a statewide tour to get new endorsers and raise funds. "The potential we have to raise money really surprised me," Arnall said. "With only one exception, every person I have approached for a contribution has donated at least \$25."

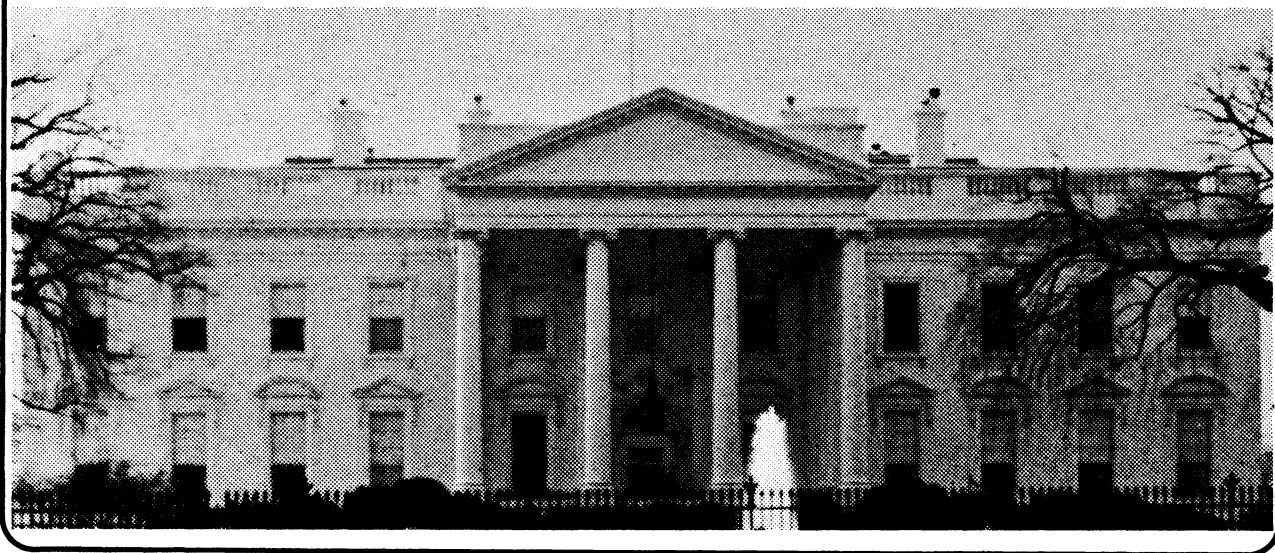
To contribute to the PRDF or find out more about its activities, write to the Political Rights Defense Fund, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10011. Telephone: (212) 691-3270.



This Watergate button is available for \$1 from PRDF, 150 Fifth Ave., Room 311, New York, N.Y. 10011.

Four-page special feature

Watergate and the capitalist system



By DICK ROBERTS

On Nov. 4, 1973, the most prestigious capitalist newspaper in the United States called for President Nixon's resignation. "Mr. Nixon," said the editors of the *New York Times*, "would be performing his ultimate service to the American people—and to himself—by resigning his office before this nation is forced to go through the traumatic and divisive process of impeachment."

The *Times* wants above all to show that "the system" works. This is why they want Nixon's resignation. On the front page of the "Week in Review" section of the Nov. 4 *Times* they spelled out their concern in a display caption:

"Throughout the growing Watergate scandal, there have been pleas to let the system work. It is working: The Senate considers Gerald Ford's nomination as Vice President, the House considers impeachment, a House subcommittee reports on the C.I.A.'s misuse by White House officials, and Washington weighs two Constitutional questions."

There is more to the capitalist system than the Senate and House even if one accepts, for the moment, the proposition that these two houses of Congress are "working." This special four-page feature of *The Militant* reviews the capitalist system in the United States today.

It is working all right, but not for the benefit of the people. The point of capitalism is that a tiny few own and control industry and government. They alone profit from "the system."

A society divided into classes

One of the prevalent myths about the United States is that there is a very large "middle class" in this country. According to this view, it's true that some people are very rich and some others are very poor. But in general, most people are well off.

This isn't true. The actual distribution of income in this country can be found in the Internal Revenue Service income tax statistics.

The first year for which full figures are available is 1968. That was a year of economic boom, propelled by the Vietnam war, and fairly high employment. There were 201,288,269 Americans accounted for in the 1968 taxes.

The reality is far from the myth! The IRS figures show that 58,630,172 Americans live in families with incomes below \$5,000. That is poverty plain and simple—29 percent of the population.

Another 71,039,908 Americans live in families whose incomes are between \$5,000 and \$10,000. That is not "poverty" according to official figures—but it is in real life as anyone knows. That is 36

percent of the population. Thus 65 percent of Americans live in low-income families, below \$10,000.

The "great middle class" turns out not to be a middle class at all. It is 43,671,576 Americans in families with incomes between \$10,000 and \$15,000.

This generally means that more than one person is working, since average wages are well below \$15,000. Such a family has to borrow money to buy a new house, or even a new car. It saves to send the young people to college. These workers constitute 22 percent of the population.

Only 12 percent of the population have incomes above \$15,000. This describes a class-divided society. As will be seen, the ruling class is only a tiny layer at the top of the highest income bracket.

There is no possibility "within the system" for the overwhelming majority of Americans to enter the ranks of the affluent, let alone the ruling class itself. This is because inherited wealth controls the major industries, banks, and other financial institutions in the United States. A thin layer of highly paid executives works for this ruling class.

General Motors

A good example is General Motors, the company with the biggest sales in the United States and the world's largest manufacturer of motor vehicles. In 1970 the 375,000 workers at GM shut it down for 67 days.

At that time GM had more than one million stockholders. The 1969 *Annual Report* showed 89.2 percent of GM shareholders owned less than 200 shares. The most sizable and consequently the controlling interests are held by 10.8 percent of the owners.

Seventy-nine percent of GM shareholders had less than 100 shares in 1970. At the stock-market price at the time of the strike of about \$72 a share, that would have cost \$7,200.

But 100 shares is still very far from the locus of decision-making in this corporation and it is minuscule compared with the stockholdings of the capitalist families who are the biggest GM shareholders.

In 1969 the 24 directors of GM held a total of 571,922 shares, worth more than \$41-million! That was an average of more than 20,000 shares per director.

The three highest GM officials averaged \$230,000 in salaries. Each of the three owned about \$1.5-million worth of GM stock, from which they received yearly dividends of about \$90,000. So that between salaries and dividends, each manager averaged 45 times the yearly \$7,200 wage of the GM production workers. In one year, the managers raked in more than most GM workers earned in their entire lifetimes.

This is the typical situation for American industries. A small stratum, somewhat less than 1 percent of the population, gets exorbitantly high salaries. An even tinier layer lives on *unearned income*.

The following table is also from the 1968 tax returns. It focuses in on the 12 percent of the population with incomes above \$15,000 and shows the unearned income, consisting of dividend in-

come, income from capital gains, interest income, and income from estates and trusts, accruing to the average individual in each bracket.

Unearned income

Family income	Percentage of all families	Unearned income (Dividends, capital gains, interest, trusts—average per individual)
\$15,000 under \$20,000	6.8	\$321
\$20,000 under \$25,000	2.2	\$682
\$25,000 under \$30,000	1.0	\$1,093
\$30,000 under \$50,000	1.4	\$1,949
\$50,000 under \$100,000	.6	\$4,862
\$100,000 under \$200,000	.1	\$16,768
\$200,000 under \$500,000	.03	\$56,284
\$500,000 under \$1,000,000	.005	\$159,507
\$1,000,000 or more	.002	\$552,566

Thus the category of individuals who get substantial incomes from dividends is not reached until one is talking about incomes above \$100,000 a year—one-tenth of 1 percent of the population. The capitalists who make enough money from dividends to live the glamorous social lives reported in the society columns comprise less than 70,000 individuals.

So much for the myth that most people in America are well off with some poor people and some rich people. Most people in America are working people and they have low incomes. A tiny number of capitalists live off their labor.

Before the 1970 GM strike, one of the directors of GM was Richard King Mellon. Mellon died several months before the strike, on June 3. In his obituary, the *New York Times* reported that the Mellon family holdings include "more than 50 million shares of Gulf Oil, a fourth of the corporation's equity; more than seven million shares of Alcoa, 30 percent of the equity; the Mellon bank, perhaps worth \$200-million; and controlling interests in the Koppers Company, the Carborundum Company, and the General Reinsurance Company. An individual Richard Mellon holding was \$20-million in General Motors Corporation."

Capitalism breeds race and sex bias

Discrimination against racial minorities and against women is bred into the capitalist system. In 1969 the median income of all white families was \$9,794. The corresponding figure for Blacks and other oppressed minorities was \$6,191.

Figures showed that 29 percent of the total population live in families with incomes under \$5,000. But 39 percent of Black families have incomes under \$5,000.

Figures illustrating the discrimination against women were revealed by Elizabeth Duncan Koontz in a speech to the American Association for the Advancement of Sciences in December 1972.

Koontz told the AAAS meeting that "only 7 percent of the fully employed women but 40 percent of the men earned \$10,000 or more in 1970." At the other end of the income scale, she said, 45 percent of women working full-time took home less than \$5,000, while only 14 percent of the male workers fell in this category.

Koontz cited the following figures for the median annual income of full-time workers in 1970: white males, \$9,373; males from oppressed nationalities, \$6,598; white women, \$5,490; and women from oppressed nationalities, \$4,674.

Commerce Department figures on actual occupation of workers in 1970 all the more underline race and sex discrimination. In the job categories of clerical, sales, service workers, and private household workers, 19 percent of white men held such jobs; 22 percent of Black men; 62 percent of white women; and 67 percent of Black women.

In other words, for women, the big majority of available jobs are office switchboard, sorting and secretarial work; selling and serving in stores and restaurants; and cleaning rooms—whether the offices or the homes of the wealthy.



Imperialist war drive

One aspect of Watergate is the increasing use of spies by the White House. Not only were the Watergate burglars all men with previous spying and sabotage experience for various government agencies. The Nixon administration spied on and attempted to discredit Democratic Party opponents.

It maintained a consistent offensive against the radical movement, including infiltration of political groups by agents provocateurs, frame-ups by the police and in courts, and in the Kent State case, even the deliberate killing of students.

This isn't President Nixon's personal idiosyncrasy. It is the logical extension of the worldwide counterrevolutionary apparatus of the capitalist state to home. Washington maintains a global police force: overtly with its gigantic army, navy, and air force based in countries throughout the world and sailing the seven seas; covertly through the CIA and other international intelligence units.

In July 1973 Senator William Proxmire said the U. S. intelligence establishment "employs about 148,000 persons and spends approximately \$6.2-billion a year." Other estimates place it closer to \$10-billion. This is 20 times as much as is spent for the yearly functioning of both houses of Congress.

Counterrevolutionary activity of the government took on increasing importance throughout the period after World War II as Washington undertook to thwart the rising tide of colonial revolution in order to protect global U. S. monopoly.

In the summer of 1963 the *Wall Street Journal* revealed that "nearly every Thursday afternoon seven top U. S. policy makers including Attorney General Kennedy and Under Secretary of State Harriman meet in the tightly guarded Executive Office Building next door to the White House for a special kind of cold war planning. Their mission is to mastermind counterinsurgency—meaning defense of the free world against Communist sabotage, rioting, infiltration of governments, and guerrilla warfare."

The *Journal* continued, "Right now a survey of the inadequacies of police techniques in underdeveloped nations is being taken at the group's request: the members are considering whether an international police academy should be established in this country."

Those who have seen the movie *State of Siege* cannot fail to appreciate the meaning of these remarks. Not only for Uruguay but for the entire underdeveloped world where U. S. interests were concerned police techniques were stepped up with the murderous results that are so well known.

The Kennedy administration launched counterrevolution in South Vietnam. War secretary Robert McNamara reported in 1963: "We are both teaching and learning in South Vietnam. Personnel from all four of our Military Services are being rotated in South Vietnam, both to assist in the organization and training of the indigenous forces and to gain practical experience in counterinsurgency warfare. The experience that they bring back with them greatly enriches the training of other United States military personnel . . . in the new techniques and doctrine for counterinsurgency operations."

With what irony one reads the lines of the slick executive fresh from the board room of the Ford Company!

It didn't quite turn out that way. The liberation forces in South Vietnam fought back and ultimately were joined by a massive national and international antiwar movement. The "strategic hamlet" concentration camps and napalm bombs of the Kennedy period were followed by the gigantic jet bombers of the SAC forces and the heaviest bombing ever known. Hundreds of thousands of U. S.

troops were committed, and it turned into the longest war in American history, which is still far from ended.

The record

The war in Southeast Asia is the bloodiest consequence of the counterrevolutionary drive of U. S. imperialism in the postwar period, but it is by no means the only one.

Since John Kennedy came to office in January 1961, the following events were among many that reflected the global needs of U. S. monopoly:

- Patrice Lumumba is murdered, Feb. 12, 1961. Kennedy inherited from Eisenhower the Washington-backed policy of UN intervention against the Congolese revolutionists. But the new Democratic administration makes no move to save the liberation leader Lumumba, who has been captured by proimperialist Katanga officials and is being held despite the supposed peace-keeping role of the UN.

- The "Bay of Pigs," April 1961. The Kennedy administration sends Cuban counterrevolutionists against the new anti-imperialist government in Havana. Watergate hoodlums Hunt and Barker are involved in the fiasco. When it fails, the Kennedy administration—to be followed by Johnson and Nixon—resorts to economic boycott in the attempt to undermine this bastion of revolutionary advance in the Western hemisphere.

- Brazil, April 1964. A right-wing coup brings the military to power. This regime outlaws and represses all opposition parties. Its imprisonment and torture of radicals is notorious. Today Brazil is second only to Mexico as a market for U. S. investment in Latin America.

- The Congo, August 1964. The Johnson administration directly intervenes with aircraft and U. S. pilots to crush a rebellion against the Katanga regime. Belgian troops, flown by U. S. planes, massacre thousands of resistance fighters; by the spring, the liberation struggle is drowned in blood.

- Santo Domingo, May 1965. Lyndon John-

son orders 30,000 Marines to the capital of the Dominican Republic to crush a popular rebellion. In house-by-house "mopping up" operations the U. S. troops brutally crush the resistance fighters. Thousands are killed.

- Indonesia, October 1965. A military coup topples Sukarno. The U. S.-supported generals launch one of the bloodiest counterrevolutions in history. Upwards of 500,000 Communists are murdered with tens of thousands of others imprisoned. The raw-materials-rich islands are opened for a leap in U. S. investment.

- April 21, 1967—coup d'etat in Athens. A military dictatorship comes to power in Greece. Oppositionists are imprisoned. Washington recognizes the regime; it becomes an important military outpost for U. S. naval forces in the Mediterranean.

- Cambodia, March 1970. A military coup in Phnompenh brings the present Lon Nol regime to power. Two months later President Nixon orders a massive U. S. invasion to rescue Lon Nol from the rising tide of revolution.

- "Black September," Jordan 1970. Imperialist-puppet Hussein launches a massacre of more than 20,000 Palestinian refugees. In the resistance that ensues, Nixon mobilizes the U. S. forces in the Mediterranean to come to Hussein's rescue if necessary.

- Sept. 11, 1973—military coup in Chile. The U. S.-armed Chilean military overthrows the Allende government and launches a widespread campaign of assassination and terror. Thousands of Latin American political refugees granted asylum in Chile are endangered. The military declares that it will denationalize U. S. properties, possibly including the lucrative copper trusts.

- The Middle East war. President Nixon orders an unprecedented airlift of U. S. weapons to aid Israeli expansion. U. S. policy in the Middle East is aimed at keeping the Zionist settler-state militarily superior. This impedes the Arab liberation movements and helps to keep in power the reactionary regimes in the oil-rich countries of Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, and the Trucial States.

* * *

The list is by no means complete, nor is it possible to end it at this date. The global investments of U. S. monopoly are a permanent spur to counterrevolution. This is because imperialist oppression abroad inevitably leads to rebellion and struggle aimed at freeing the colonial peoples.

There is no democracy in the U. S. government on this score. Whichever capitalist party is in the White House or in control of Congress, U. S. foreign policy is tailored solely to the needs of the monopolist ruling class. Key war decisions are made by a tiny handful of strategists in the executive. They are voted a free hand to do this by the legislative branch.

President Nixon's domestic espionage policies pale before the bloody deeds of the imperialists abroad. Nevertheless they flow from the political needs of the imperialists, and they will continue in one form or another as long as the capitalist system "is working." That is, as long as the capitalist ruling class remains in power.



1964 Stanleyville massacre by U. S.-supplied mercenary troops in the Congo.

Global rule of U.S. monopoly

The Watergate crisis tends to focus attention on the political system of American capitalism: the courts, the Congress, and the White House. These institutions are the governmental arm of the ruling class. Its basis of economic power, however, is in the banks and industry. The wealthy rulers of America own by far the biggest corporations in the world. Their empires are national and international.

Furthermore the process is one in which the big trusts constantly get bigger. "Accumulate, accumulate, that is Moses and the prophets," Karl Marx wrote about the capitalist system. Ever larger masses of capital are concentrated and centralized into financial empires under fewer and fewer hands. "Of the 500 largest U.S. industrial corporations listed by *Fortune* in 1962, eighty have since disappeared through mergers," Richard Barber wrote in *The American Corporation* (1970).

"As many as thirty of the companies which appeared on *Fortune's* top-500 list in 1968 did not appear in 1969 because of merger," Barber continued.

Another commentator on corporate conglomeration declared in 1969 that, "In 1948, the nation's 200 largest industrial corporations controlled 48 percent of the manufacturing assets. Today, these firms control 58 percent, while the top 500 firms control 75 percent of these assets." The spokesman—John N. Mitchell, at the time, U.S. attorney general, posing as a man concerned with the "public interest." Before that Mitchell worked as Nelson Rockefeller's private attorney!

As the "big fish" swallow the "little fish" every sector of industry is dominated by fewer and fewer firms.

In the United States, more than 75 percent of soap detergents are controlled by Procter & Gamble, Colgate, and Lever Bros. This should be kept in mind in the grocery store when you pass

Ten multinationals

Company and world rank	1971 world sales
General Motors (1)	\$28.3-billion
Exxon (2)	18.7
Ford (3)	16.4
General Electric (5)	9.4
IBM (6)	8.3
Mobil Oil (7)	8.2
Chrysler (8)	8.0
Texaco (9)	7.5
ITT (11)	7.3
Gulf Oil (12)	5.9

rows and rows of supposedly competitive brands.

Goodyear, Firestone, and Uniroyal control more than 75 percent of rubber tires. Litton and IBM control more than 80 percent of typewriters. Reynolds, American, Philip Morris, and L&M, more than 80 percent of cigarettes. RCA, almost 90 percent of electric tubes. Kellogg and General Foods, almost 95 percent of cereals—another useful piece of information in the supermarket.

GM, Ford, and Chrysler control more than 95 percent of autos; and Alcoa, Reynolds, and Kaiser control almost 100 percent of aluminum.

At the peak of the monopolistic pyramid are 10 multinational giants. Their present standing was reported in *Business Week*, Aug. 18, and are listed in the table on this page.

These giants operate in dozens of countries. Each of them has its own "world government" through which they influence world politics. Richard Barber described the two biggest:

"GM employees number well over 700,000 and work in 127 plants in the United States and forty-five in countries spanning Europe, South Africa, North America, and Australasia. Their total cash wages are more than twice the personal income of Ireland. . . .

"[Exxon] has three times as many people overseas as the U.S. State Department, a six-million-ton tanker fleet (half again bigger than Russia's),



Militant/Ed Weaver

and \$17 billion in assets (nearly equal to the combined assessed valuation of Chicago and Los Angeles)."

The overseas holdings are integral and inseparable parts of these monopolies. An important example is the mighty Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco), which controls the world's largest oil resources in Saudi Arabia. This firm is 25 percent owned by the Saudi Arabian government and 75 percent owned by four U.S. multinationals: California Standard, Exxon, and Texaco, 22.5 percent each; and Mobil, 7.5 percent.

The *New York Times* revealed Nov. 4 that Aramco alone accounts for 20 percent of Mobil's world profits; 25 percent of Texaco's; and almost 40 percent of Standard of California's! The statistics show why the foreign subsidiaries of U.S. monopoly are crucial parts of their empires.

Four of the world's largest oil firms are controlled by two American families. The Rockefeller empire includes Exxon, Mobil Oil, and Standard of California. The Mellons control Gulf Oil. Ferdinand Lundberg calculated that in 1964 the Mellons and Rockefellers held \$7-billion worth of stock just in these four firms. (*The Rich and Super Rich*, 1968.)

This figure is roughly equal to the total of the yearly Gross National Products of Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Saudi Arabia, Syria, and the Yemen.

Raw materials

Through its international monopoly of raw materials, the United States consumes a big share of the world's resources. *U.S. News & World Report* disclosed on Dec. 4, 1972, that of the total world output of key minerals each year, the U.S. uses the following proportions:

Natural gas	57%
Silver	42%
Lead	36%
Aluminum	35%
Petroleum	32%
Tin	32%
Nickel	30%
Copper	27%
Steel	19%
Coal	16%

Thus, according to *U.S. News*, "with 5 per cent of the world's people, [the] U.S. consumes 30 per cent of world's minerals."

The huge expenditures of U.S. dollars abroad and the global police apparatus of the imperialists presided over by the Pentagon and the CIA protect this monopoly.

The two capitalist parties

Much is being made of the fact that the multi-millionaire Howard Hughes contributed \$100,000 to Richard Nixon's 1972 presidential election campaign through Nixon's Florida real-estate friend Bebe Rebozo. The fact is that the overwhelming majority of all campaign contributions to Republicans and Democrats alike comes from the ruling class, and often in far greater amounts.

Most Americans cannot afford to support politicians. This fact was thoroughly documented in the 1972 presidential campaign because of new campaign disclosure laws.

"... perhaps 1 to 2 percent of the eligible voters ... contribute the money necessary to make the electoral process work," *New York Times* reporter Ben Franklin wrote from Washington, Nov. 4, 1972. Even the 1 or 2 percent figure is likely to be an exaggeration. But taken at face value it tells something about the "democratic" electoral process. It isn't democratic. Rule by 1 or 2 percent of the population is rule by a tiny minority.

Franklin listed several contributions to the Nixon campaign well above Hughes's \$100,000. This included a \$255,000 contribution from Ray Kroc, founder of the McDonald's hamburger chain; more than \$300,000 from Arthus Watson of IBM; and contributions of \$1-million each from Chicago insurance-executive W. Clement Stone, and Pittsburgh banker Richard Mellon Scaife, a Mellon heir.

On the Democratic side, big contributions came from Stewart Mott, the GM heir (\$340,298); Max Palevski, the largest stockholder in Xerox (\$373,943); and Nicholas and Daniel Noyes, the heirs to the Eli Lilly pharmaceutical fortune (\$500,000).

A study of the 1968 presidential elections gave comparable results. *New York Times* columnist Tom Wicker wrote on Nov. 14, 1971, "... the Democrats got 61 percent of their presidential campaign funds from contributors of more than \$500. The Republicans, who have developed good small-contributor programs, still got 47 percent of their total from contributions of more than \$500.

"Only about 15,000 Americans were responsible for this high percentage of presidential campaign costs," Wicker continued. "Moreover, a mere 89 persons—according to the Citizens Research Foundation—each contributed \$30,000 or more for a staggering total of more than \$6.8-million. Only 424 big contributors—of more than \$10,000 each—kicked in with over \$12-million for the 1968 campaign."

Need it be recalled that there are more than 80 million workers in the United States who are supposed to be represented by the president? Most of them do not make \$10,000 a year; and as far as the contributions of the Stones and the Mellons are concerned—this is more money than even the highest paid workers make in their entire lifetimes.

Congress

If an impeachment process gets off the ground it is well to remember who is represented in Congress. The election campaign-finance figures tell one side of the story. *Washington Post* reporters William Greider and Jan Krause told another side of it in two articles May 7 and 8, 1969:

"About two-thirds of the 435 House members have significant outside interests, either shares in private businesses or fees paid for services rendered away from their Capitol Hill jobs," Greider and Krause reported.

"The banking industry is, by far, the most popular. In fact ... one in every five Congressmen has a personal stake in financial institutions, usually one of his hometown banks. . . .

"Beyond banking, the most important provider of extra income is the legal profession. However, House members also reported investments or income in virtually every important segment of the economy—from airlines to insurance companies to oilfields. In all 275 Congressmen have reported private investments or income-producing activities.

"Congressional stock-market investments covered the spectrum from mutual funds to the major American corporations. Oil and gas interests are held by at least 41 Congressmen; communications, airlines and railroads, and insurance followed closely behind."

It is rule of, by, and for big business.

Wages held down, while profits soar

For months very little was said on the floors of the houses of Congress about Watergate. The investigatory machinery—such as it is—was handed over to Dixiecrat Senator Sam Ervin and his committee. Ultimately Ervin attempted to compromise all chances of a serious congressional challenge to the administration when he secretly agreed with the White House that the tapes could be handed to Senator John Stennis, a fellow Dixiecrat who is also the most powerful representative of military interests in Congress.

Only when President Nixon fired special prosecutor Archibald Cox did Congress begin to take steps toward possible impeachment. By this time Nixon's popularity had fallen to a historic low, and a few big city newspapers were already calling for his resignation.

This illustrates an important fact about the process of capitalist rule. Every step taken by the government for the good of the people, no matter how limited, is only taken under immense mass pressure. The government serves the interests not of the majority but of the ruling class that controls it.

An example close to home is the economic situation. For years inflation has been getting more and more out of control. Wages and living standards have been increasingly eroded. Food prices have gone into orbit.

Since Aug. 15, 1971, with President Nixon's announcement of the "New Economic Policy," economic matters are supposed to have been under the

control of the government. Governmental committees were set up supposedly to watch prices and wages. They were approved by special legislation from the Congress. The results?

- Phase 1: Starting Aug. 15, 1971, a 90-day "freeze" on wages and most prices. Prices rose at an annual rate of 2 percent. Workers lost more than \$4-billion in wages.

- Phase 2: Starting Nov. 14, 1971, with supposed price ceilings and a 5.5 percent guideline on wage increases. Prices rose at an annual rate of 3.6 percent. From an average increase of 8 percent in 1971, workers' wages went up only 6 percent on the average in 1972.

- Phase 3: Starting Jan. 11, 1973, removed "mandatory" controls on prices. The wage guidelines stayed in effect. Prices rose at an annual rate of 8.3 percent. Workers real wages were declining.

- Freeze: Starting June 13, nearly all prices were supposed to be frozen. Prices rose at an annual rate

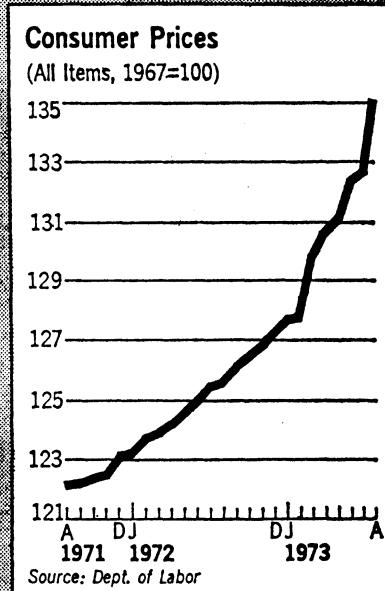
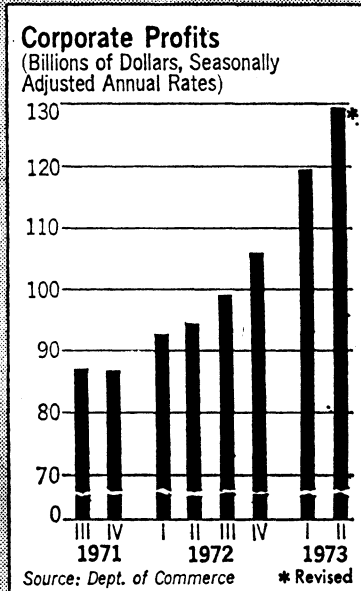
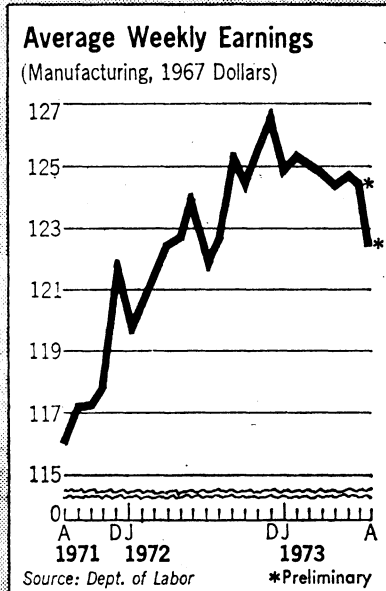
of 13.7 percent. Real wages declined faster.

- Phase 4: Started Aug. 13. Prices rose at the fastest rate in American history. The chart below from the Oct. 1, 1973, *New York Times* summarizes the first 26 months of the New Economic Policy.

In sum: wages falling, prices rising, and profits at an all-time record. This is the government's economic policy, and it concerns matters of vital import to the masses of Americans.

The U. S. Senate is the body that would constitute itself as a jury in impeachment proceedings against Nixon. On March 20 this body ruled on the New Economic Policy. It passed the "Economic Stabilization Act" giving Richard Nixon the power to carry out economic policies by dictate. Vote: 89 for, 2 against. Senator George McGovern declared before he voted for the ruling class's economic policy, "No one disputes the right of business to earn equitable profits."

Since Phase One Began: Wages, Profits and Prices



Watergate: What is the solution?

By LINDA JENNESS

Last year I ran for president against Nixon and McGovern as the candidate of the Socialist Workers Party. In my campaign I denounced the same crimes that are now being exposed to millions of Americans through the Watergate revelations—such crimes as the war in Southeast Asia, secret diplomacy, the control of government officials by the corporations, the infringement of the democratic rights of the American people.

The articles in this four-page special feature detail how the ruling class's ability to carry out these crimes is based on their control of the enormous wealth of this country.

One of the most common questions I was asked during my campaign was, "O. K., the Democratic and Republican politicians are corrupt and bought off by the rich, but what alternative is there? Why should we believe that your party would be any different once you got into office?"

What my party stands for is as different from the program of the Democrats and Republicans as day from night.

The question posed by Watergate is nothing less than which class should govern this country—those who own all the factories and wealth (a tiny minority), or those who work for these billionaire tycoons (the great majority)?

The Democrats and Republicans are devoted to the capitalist system and to those who are on top in this system—the capitalists. The SWP and its program are based on the opposite class, the working class, those who are on the bottom in this system.

But how will it be possible to achieve a workers' government?

The present government cannot simply be "cleaned up." We have seen from the current scandals that the entire government apparatus and institutions—like the courts, the Pentagon, the po-

lice, the Congress—are all set up to defend the interests of the rich.

These institutions must be replaced, and the control placed in the hands of the majority class, the working class. The only power that can achieve this transformation is the power of working people themselves, organized and mobilized to fight for their interests.

AFL-CIO President George Meany is now calling for Nixon's resignation or impeachment, saying working people "don't like to see fat cats using that government for their own special interests—and in the process nibbling away at the one thing the little guy has going for him in our system: political democracy."

But why does Meany then turn around and propose that the trade unions support the Democrats—who are equally the agents of the fat cats? Maybe one reason is that Meany himself lives more like the fat cats than like average working people. He has cooperated fully with the government in enriching the fat cats through wage controls. And he has backed the spending of billions of our tax dollars for wars against oppressed people around the world.

In order to fight for a real alternative to Nixon's gang in the White House, trade unionists will have to boot out Meany's gang and transform the trade

unions into democratic, fighting organizations capable of asserting the enormous power of the labor movement. A big step toward this goal would be for the trade unions to break from the Democratic Party and form their own workers party.

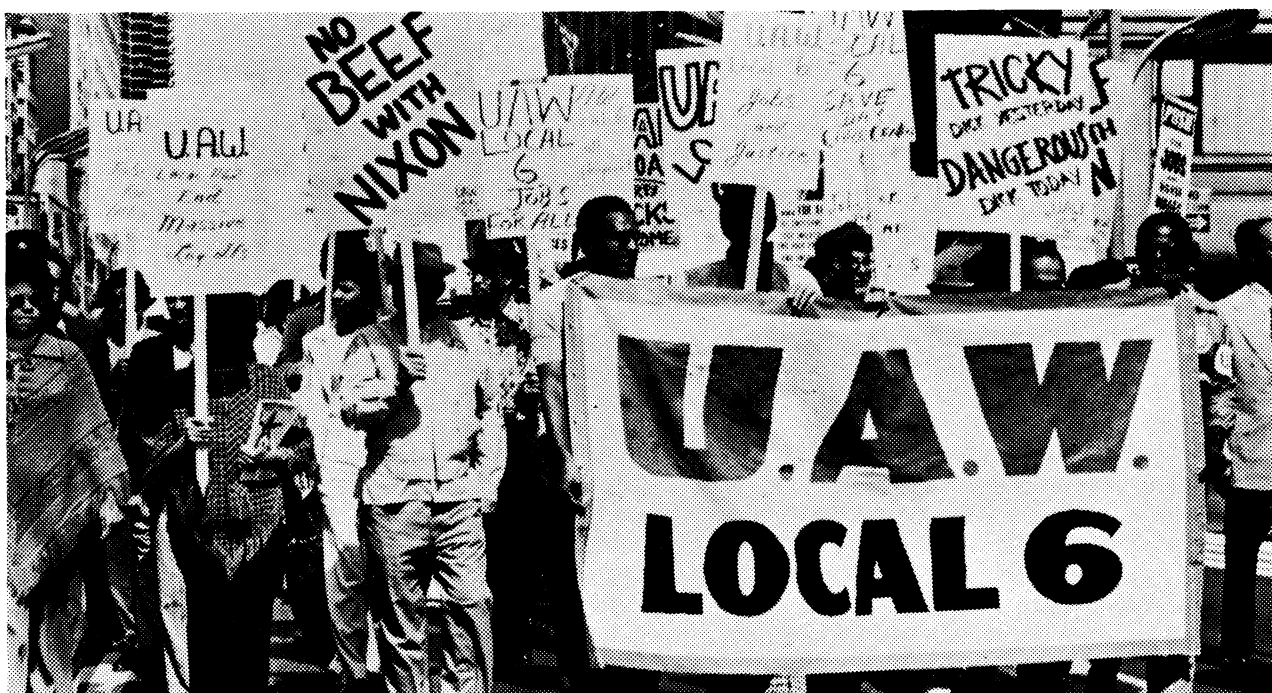
So long as the ruthless killers who devastated Vietnam remain in power, there will be more Vietnams. There will be more Chiles. And there will always be the threat of the unimaginable holocaust a nuclear war would bring.

Only a workers' government could take over the wealth of this country and disarm the war-makers. A workers' government would administer the country in the interests of human needs, rather than profits.

Such a government would redirect the resources now wasted on the military into peaceful, constructive purposes. It would publish all the capitalists' secrets—ruling openly and honestly in the interests of the majority.

It would outlaw racist and sexist practices—bred by capitalist society because they are profitable.

Join us—the Socialist Workers Party and the Young Socialist Alliance—in building this revolutionary alternative to the government of Watergate! To contact the SWP or YSA nearest you, see the directory on page 26.



Chicago workers march against wage controls, unemployment, and inflation Sept. 8.

Militant/Bruce Bloy

No obstacle to war

War Powers Act: hoax by Congress

By ANDY ROSE

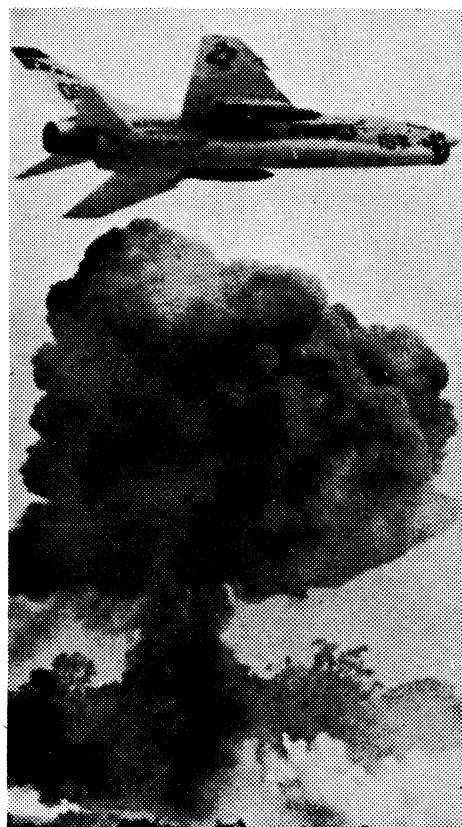
"On the Big One, Congress Stood Up to Be Counted," proclaimed a *New York Times* headline Nov. 11.

The vote to override Nixon's veto of the War Powers Act—the *Times*'s "Big One"—has been acclaimed by the liberal media and politicians as a historic victory.

If these "doves" are to be believed, Congress has reversed Nixon's concentration of power in the executive branch, reasserted popular sovereignty over war, and made future Vietnams impossible.

From the way Nixon squealed, one could almost believe it. He called the bill "unconstitutional and dangerous" and complained that "our potential adversaries may be encouraged to engage in future acts of international mischief. . . ."

To be sure, this is the first time in more than a year that Congress has managed to override a Nixon



Congress always refused to cut off funds for Vietnam war.

veto. As the president's popularity plummets with each new Watergate scandal, the legislators figure that acting as though they had spines may enhance their own credibility. Even 25 Republicans in the Senate and 86 in the House voted against their commander-in-chief.

But has Congress really stayed the hand of the warmakers? Despite all the fanfare, the truth is that the bill puts no meaningful curbs on a president's ability to wage war or even launch a nuclear attack, no matter how much the masses of people might oppose such actions.

In fact, the War Powers Act gives the president authority—not included in the Constitution—to commit troops to combat for 60 days without any congressional authorization. After 60 days he can give himself a 30-day extension.

Only then, after three months of war, is approval by Congress required. As many commentators pointed out, no one seriously believes Congress would vote to stop a war once it was started.

A few liberal Democrats initially opposed the bill, pointing out that it gives legal cover to unconstitutional presidential war-making powers.

Senator Thomas Eagleton (D-Mo.) said it was a "horrible mistake" and reportedly shouted, "How short can memories be? My God, we just got out of a nightmare."

When Nixon vetoed the bill last month, he asserted that it would have left the U.S. "unable to respond in the way we did during the Berlin crisis of 1961, the Cuban missile crisis of 1962, the Congo rescue operation in 1964, and the Jordanian crisis of 1970. . . ."

In reality this bill would not have halted the mobilization of U.S. forces for war on any of those occasions. Nor would it have stopped any of Nixon's recent moves in the Middle East—the massive arms airlift to Israel, U.S. military alert, or threat of nuclear war—as its congressional sponsors hastened to point out!

The role of the U.S. as top world imperialist cop makes inevitable the increasing concentration of power in the hands of its central executive officers. They need to carry out their policies in secret and free from even the semblance of popular control—for good reason.

After all, if the American people had known the truth and had anything to say about it, would they have sanctioned the coup in Chile?

Would they have allowed the hated Vietnam war to continue for eight years?

Would they train police torture squads for Brazil?

Would they pay for Portugal's colonial wars in Africa?

So as far as possible the U.S. rulers cover up their actions and avoid even the hazards of a congressional debate, from which the public might learn too much. Neither the Vietnam war nor the Korean war was ever declared by Congress.

It would be utopian to expect that this centralization of power will ever be seriously challenged by the Democrats and Republicans in Congress. Use of any extreme of military force to protect U.S. investments and the world imperialist system is a truly bipartisan policy, upheld by Congress just as much as by the executive branch.

How much did the "doves" in Congress ever do to stop the Vietnam war? Every penny the executive branch spends must be appropriated by Congress. Congress could have halted the war at any moment simply by voting to cut off funds. But it never did.

The real congressional "peace" policy was exposed just days after the War Powers vote, when a House subcommittee approved a more than \$80-billion war spending bill, including a go-ahead for the new multibillion dollar B-1 bomber and Trident submarine.

Even the origins of the War Powers Act reveal what an utter fraud it is. According to the Nov. 11 *New York Times*, the bill was introduced in 1970 to avoid proposals for cutting Vietnam war appropriations: "As an alternative to a funds cutoff, which not even the dovish Senate was willing to accept, Senator Javits came up with the idea of defining the war powers of the President."

In addition, the *Times* noted, "Only when the Vietnam war was over was Congress willing to act. . . ."

The War Powers Act is a hoax—a cynical maneuver by the capitalist politicians as a sop to widespread fears of another Vietnam.

Another dirty trick?

Raza Unida answers 'GOP funds' smear

By HARRY RING

SAN ANTONIO — Ramsey Muñiz, 1972 Texas gubernatorial candidate of La Raza Unida Party, has wired Senate Watergate Committee Chairman Sam Ervin demanding the right to testify before the committee.

At a committee session Nov. 7 witnesses asserted that the Chicano party had received secret campaign funding from the Republicans because they felt this would take votes from the Democrats.

Muñiz demanded to appear before the committee because his name was mentioned specifically, and he is insisting on being given the opportunity to clear himself of any association with the Republicans.

The charge of undercover Republican funding of La Raza Unida Party first emerged during testimony by William Maramuto. He had been a member of the Nixon staff responsible for channeling federal funds to Spanish-speaking businessmen and others if they were willing to support Nixon with money and votes.

Similar charges were also made against La Raza Unida recently by Representative Henry B. Gonzales. A longtime foe of the Chicano movement, this Mexican-American Democrat reportedly asserted that a federal agency had put up money to fund the national Raza Unida Party convention held in El Paso in September 1972.

In an interview with *The Militant*, José Angel Gutiérrez, a central leader of the Texas Raza Unida Party, vigorously denied these assertions. He said the party had learned of Gonzales's charges only through media reports and it had not yet been established if he had made his allegations on the floor of Congress or elsewhere. If he made the charge without cloak of congressional immunity, Gutiérrez said, the RUP would take court action against him.

Gutiérrez, who is president of the Crystal City school board and was Ramsey Muñiz's campaign manager in 1972, said, "There was never any money offered by the Republicans and if it had been it would not have been accepted by Raza Unida."

Discussing the charges that emerged in the Watergate committee hearings, Gutiérrez said, "It's amazing to us how this committee, which is supposed to be uncovering dirty tricks, is permitting more dirty tricks by the witnesses." He charged that those who



Militant/Nelson Blackstock
Texas Raza Unida Party leader Ramsey Muñiz demands right to appear before Senate Watergate committee.

made the allegations against La Raza Unida had perjured themselves.

Gutiérrez noted that because it is a legal party, the financial records of the RUP are on file with the state of Texas and subject to scrutiny.

Examination of those records, he said, will show that "our income is from nickel and dime contributions from our people." He said that the party had spent only \$13,000 on the Muñiz campaign.

In addition to party records being available, Gutiérrez noted that the personal income of party officials was also subject to federal examination on the basis of income tax returns.

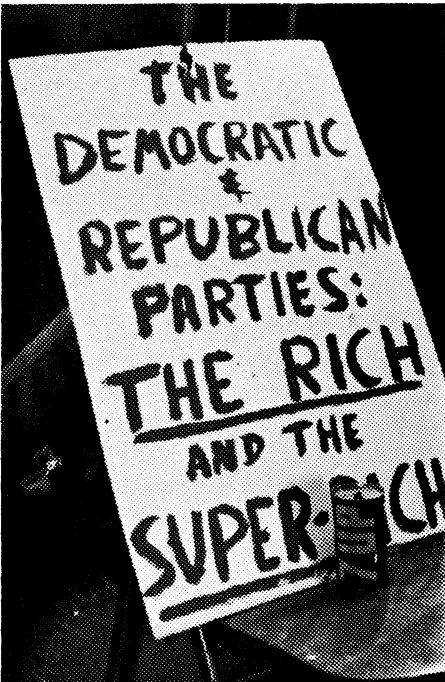
Since 1972 the Democrats have been trying to discredit La Raza Unida Party as a tool of the Republicans.

Initially George McGovern hoped to win some form of support from Raza Unida, and his posture was friendly. But after the El Paso convention made clear that the party intended to remain independent of both major parties, McGovern charged at a news conference that the party was in the pay of Republicans.

Pressed by reporters to substantiate his charges, McGovern failed to do so. Later one of his Spanish-surnamed supporters alleged that federal agencies had agreed to contribute to the building of a medical clinic in Crystal City in return for political support by La Raza Unida.

Raza Unida representatives were in Washington at the time trying to cut through federal delays on the funding for the clinic. They held a news conference at which they charged that both Republicans and Democrats were guilty of making a political football of the health needs of the Chicano people.

Because many Chicanos are still tied to the Democratic Party, Republican hacks may see an immediate vote-catching advantage in the emergence of La Raza Unida Party. But it is safe to assume that those of them with a bit more foresight recognize that the development of an independent Chicano party represents a threat to Democrats and Republicans alike, as well as to the racist system they both uphold and defend.



Militant/Steve Ramirez
Placard at a 1972 Chicano conference. Raza Unida Party opposes both capitalist parties.

... Behind 'energy crisis' fraud

Continued from page 28

Aug. 27, "the U.S. has handed its Marines a new assignment—be prepared, if ever needed, to fight in the desert... presumably in North Africa or the Eastern Mediterranean. There is where U.S. oil interests are great...."

Gas-station warfare

Shooting isn't involved, but the main aim of the oil majors at home is to drive smaller gas retailers out of business. They want to capitalize on their "vertical" monopolies. Giant trusts like Exxon own the oil from the ground to the fuel pump.

What they are trying to do is squeeze out gas franchisers who do not own sources of crude. The strategy is simple. Drive up the wholesale prices of oil and bankrupt the retailers.

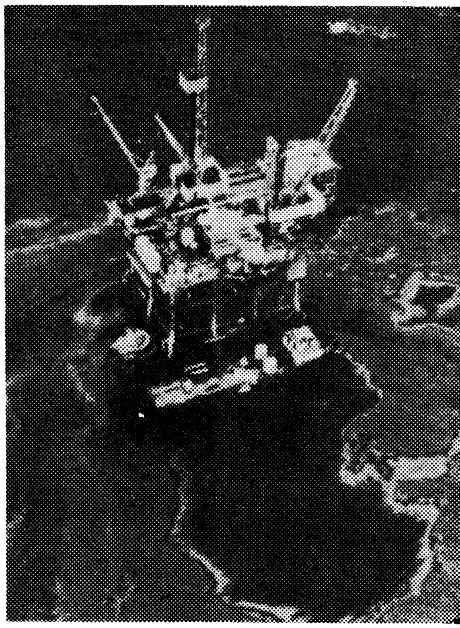
Representative Robert Drinan (D-Mass.) recently complained in Congress, "As a result of shortages of gasoline and other petroleum products this year, we have already seen more than 2,000 independent marketers of gasoline fail. In New England, fully 40 percent of the fuel oil is brought in by independent terminal operators, and 82 percent of the oil-heated homes in New England are serviced by independent heating oil refiners. These independent marketers are finding it impossible, in most cases, to get their suppliers to sell them even a fraction of the fuel that they received in the previous year.... some of the major companies... have seemingly acted in a concerted fashion to deprive the independents of fuel stocks, force them out of business, and attempt to take over the market for themselves."

That's why the service stations started closing down last summer—and that is one of the main reasons why fuel is in short supply this winter.

Richard Nixon's sympathies on this score were clarified (if they needed to be!) when the Cost of Living Council handed down the ruling in September that retail gas prices would be frozen but wholesalers could raise prices one cent a gallon. Service station operators ultimately forced the Cost of Living Council to back down and give them a one-cent raise too.

Monopoly control

How do the oil majors do it? Their



Oil spill. 'Energy crisis' was cooked up to get pollution standards relaxed...

key piece in this battle is their lock on oil refining capacity. In 1970 the eight biggest oil companies controlled 58 percent of the crude oil refining capacity. The top 20 accounted for 86 percent.

They can squeeze the independent oil producers who do not have sufficient refining capacity and they can squeeze the retailers as has already been shown. And squeeze they did.

"The nation's biggest oil companies suddenly slowed their refinery output in the spring of 1972, despite evidence of sharply escalating consumer demand, a Senate staff study has revealed," *Los Angeles Times* correspondent Paul Steiger reported from Washington Nov. 9.

"As outlined in the Senate study," Steiger said, "the 10 largest refinery operators in the U.S. made this winter's shortage 'inevitable' a year earlier. They did so, it said, by reducing operations of their refineries in the first four months of 1973 from 92 per cent of capacity—regarded as the maximum production pace sustainable over a long period—to an average 89 per cent of capacity."

Steiger also revealed that the study found "the 10 leaders—Exxon, American, Texaco, Shell, Gulf, Mobil, Atlantic Richfield, Sunoco, Standard of Ohio, and Standard of California—deliberately reduced their inven-

ories of oil products until by September, 1972, stocks of heating oil were as much as 10 per cent below 1971 listings."

An executive of the richest and most powerful oil trust of all laid it on the line. Exxon Treasurer Allan Hamilton wrote in *Platt's Oilgram News Service* Sept. 15, 1972, "Unless and until the real nature of the crisis is understood, and profit levels become such that the industry is confident that its investments will bear fruit, the supply of energy required will not be forthcoming." (Emphasis added.)

So be it! Richard Nixon and all the other agents of monopoly are dancing on the strings.

Wait a minute!

A worker from GM's technical cen-



... drive smaller gas retailers out of business...

ter in Warren, Mich., told *The Militant* that people in his plant complained that GM should turn off the energy for its huge, extravagant billboards before making them work in cold temperatures. An over-the-road driver explains that slower speed limits will mean that drivers who get paid by the mile will, in effect, have to work longer hours at lower pay.

The ruling class is trying to put the energy crisis across at a time when Americans are deeply suspicious about the activities of government and not so likely to swallow the fraud without asking questions.

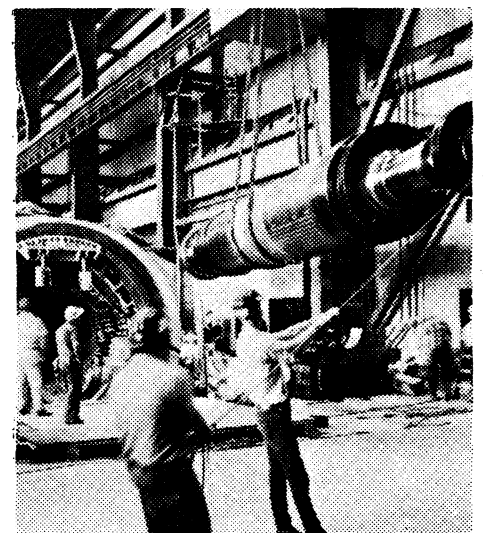
In fact this is a source of the "crisis." The oil trusts face a situation in which, their tax loopholes and other income privileges and their environment-polluting policies are being increasingly criticized. Last month showed that there is also a sharp decline in pro-Zionist sentiment, and a reluctance on the part of most Americans to get dragged into another war.

And the oil industry's soaring profits don't go over too well with working people trying to make ends meet.

Business Week reports that oil industry profits for the third quarter of 1973 were up 63 percent on a 36 percent gain in sales. Exxon's profits were up 81 percent and Gulf's up 91 percent.

To get at the truth about the "energy crisis" consumer groups and the union movement should demand that the oil companies' books be opened for public inspection. If these monopolies deny they created the shortages, let them prove it. It's time to tear away the whole mask of secrecy in the oil business, which keeps oil reserves, exploration, production, refining, and inventory unknown except to the tiny few.

Oil and its by-products are a crucial resource. The oil industry has demonstrated the utter inability of private monopolies to develop this resource in a way that truly benefits humanity. The oil trusts should be taken out of the hands of the Rockefellers, Mellons, and the others and nationalized under workers' control.



... and spur construction of atomic energy plants without consideration for environment.

Harlem Blacks cool to Nixon's energy plea

By BAXTER SMITH

All along 125th Street between Seventh and Eighth avenues in Harlem, Afro wig, knit pants, and handmade jewelry merchants peddle their goods on the sidewalks. Competing soul music blares onto the streets from Bobby's Records & Tape Center and the Record Shack. It's the same every Saturday, even now that the East Coast Indian summer is over and winter's chill has arrived.

It was a brisk 40 degrees on Saturday, Nov. 10, when I went uptown to talk with Black Harlem residents about Richard Nixon's request for people to lower their apartment temperatures as part of his plan to conserve heat because of the "energy crisis." Their response, not unexpected, was universal suspicion and condemnation of Nixon.

McTavish is a West Indian who hawks fresh garden produce—snap beans, yams, collard greens—from a parked truck. He stated he had read of Nixon's request.

"It's just another gimmick," he said, chewing a dead cigar. "They've prob-

ably got that oil somewhere but they just don't want to give it to us unless they can charge higher rates or something."

He lives in the Bronx and reported that in the middle of last winter his landlord—even before Nixon's impassioned plea—sometimes cut off the heat. He resumed tending customers.

Close by was Lulu Bell, who sells homemade cakes and pies over a card table. Shoppers stop and examine the treats. One woman with her young daughter explains, "You know, I live in the projects and we always have heat. But some of these landlords out here will really think they have an excuse to turn off the heat. And I think it's sad for these other people."

A block away, on 124th Street, the teeming hustle of 125th Street is missing. And the gloomier aspect of life in Harlem prevails, where some 200,000 Blacks are shoehorned into five square miles of land.

Rows of worn-out six-story red brick and brownstone tenements are common. Many are emblazoned with graf-

fiti. Some are abandoned and boarded up. Most have window gates to discourage burglars. It is here that Nixon's exhortations have a particularly odd meaning.

Sofie Collins is a plump woman, about 45, who lives on welfare with her brother and son in a \$135 a month, four-room flat.

She told me she hadn't heard of Nixon's plan. But she added, "It figures. I knew that man was crazy. Besides, we can't turn our heat down no way,—cause we don't control it."

She remarked that so far this fall they've had enough heat, but she expects her landlord will be only too eager to cut it back, like last winter. "And baby, you don't know how cold it can get!" she exclaimed.

When there is no heat she has to boil water for baths or keep the oven on, risking fire. If it gets too bad, she said they just might have "to go down to the projects and stay with my cousin for a while."

As we were talking, four men stood across the street in an auto grave-

yard, huddled around a fire in a trash can. They were drinking port wine from a bottle sheathed in a brown-paper bag. One of the men was Sofie's brother, Albert.

Albert is a slight man whose face wears the look of years of oppression. When I asked him what he thought of turning down the heat, he shot back, "Down? It can't go much lower!" Then he said jokingly, "You see this bottle? This has to keep me warm, 'cause our damn landlord ain't."

As we were talking, Sofie's teen-age son walked up. Sporting a green-plaid apple cap, cocked at a rakish angle, he gave me a suspicious once-over. After listening to our discussion, he said gruffly, "Nixon. That dude should be hung. I mean, where does he get his nerve? You can bet he's not sacrificing like he's asking other people to do."

Such is the typical response of the many thousands in New York City alone who've been long affected by involuntary "energy saving" schemes—schemes wrought well before Nixon's appeal.

Black feminism on rise

Women's liberation & Black struggle

By MAXINE WILLIAMS

With the rise of women's liberation in this country, the mass media, as well as some Black organizations, said the feminist struggle was not of interest to the Black woman. They consciously portrayed the women's liberation movement as a "white woman's hang-up," as a "bunch of bra burners," "male haters," and "sexually frustrated suburban housewives."

The Black and women's movements were pitted against one another—described as being in conflict, or competing with each other—for the crumbs that fall from the master's table.

Black women were told that we did not need to be liberated and that our first duty was to stand behind and give inspiration to Black men. We were warned about the dangers of getting involved in a "white middle-class movement" by both the moderate and radical wings of the Black movement—from Roy Wilkins all the way to Eldridge Cleaver.

These appeals had an effect in the beginning. Black women were made to feel guilty, to feel we were "selling

out the Black movement" if we indicated any interest in organizing around our specific oppression as women.

However, this concept is being challenged by more and more Black women across the country.

This is shown by the response to the formation of the National Black Feminist Organization (NBFO) in New York. Some of the group's general meetings have drawn more than 100 women.

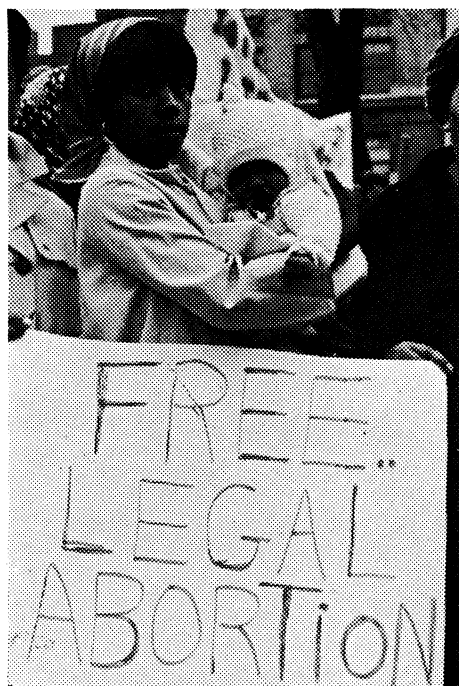
Large Black women's conferences have also been held. A conference last spring at Columbia University, sponsored by the Pan African Students Organization in the Americas (PASOA), attracted more than 200 Black women. Another conference last spring in Detroit drew 700 Black women. It was called to discuss "the many problems affecting employment, career opportunities, child care, the legal status of women, consumer problems, equal pay for equal work."

Black women also played an important role in building the African Liberation Day demonstrations that took place May 26 in more than 25 cities.

In many cities, the struggle against cutbacks in child care last spring was led by Black and Puerto Rican women. Their protests forced the federal government to back down on its plans to slash day-care funds. Black women are also playing a leading role in the welfare rights movement and speaking out against racist forced sterilization schemes.

No, Black women have not gone unaffected by the women's liberation movement. We are looking beyond the distortions of the mass media and various organizations that have attempted to deny the legitimacy of women's liberation. It is the issues and demands of this struggle that Black women are responding to.

One illustration of this is the fight of a 19-year-old Black woman to win back her job in a Great Lakes steel mill. She was fired because she "wasn't capable of doing the work." But a union official told a reporter privately



'It is Black women who have suffered most from botched, illegal abortions.'

that the job "was too tough for a woman." This is a clear indication that Black women will have to organize even within the unions to win the same rights to a job as our male counterparts.

Another example is the recent firing of Ruth Harris, a Black employee at the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, because she couldn't get along with "the organization." Harris, the highest-ranking female official at NASA, had accused the agency of not making "equal opportunity a priority."

While the majority of Black women do not consider themselves feminists, it is difficult to find an individual woman who does not agree with the demands for equal pay for equal work, maternity leave with full pay, or child care. Thus a 1972 Harris poll found that 67 percent of Black women are "sympathetic to the efforts of women's liberation groups."

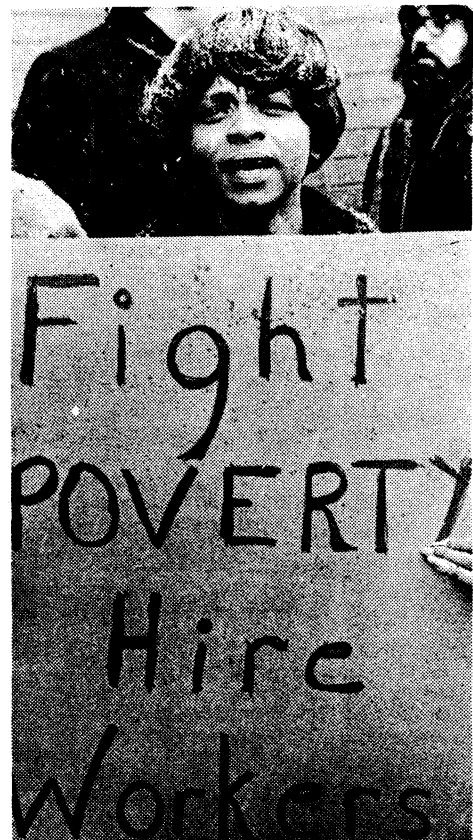
This is because feminist demands speak most directly to the needs of Black women. It is Black women who have suffered most from botched, illegal abortions, from lack of decent

child care, and from sex discrimination on the job.

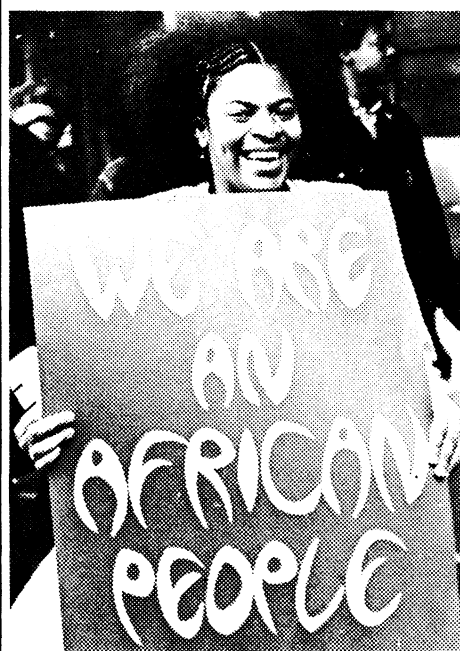
The mass media used to have a field day putting women's liberation down because it could not "attract Black women." The newspapers are now almost silent as we see an increased interest in feminist ideas among Black women.

Some of the Black press has begun to report favorably on women's liberation, such as the March-April 1973 issue of the *Black Scholar*, which was devoted entirely to Black women's liberation. This kind of reporting would not have happened four or five years ago.

More and more Black women are realizing that there is no contradiction between the fight for women's rights and the struggle of Black people. We are viewing our fight as women as an important component of the struggle for Black liberation as a whole.



'The majority of Black women agree with the demand of equal pay for equal work.'



'Black women played an important role in African Liberation Day demonstrations.'

Wage boost 'inoperative'

Washington puts squeeze on N. Cal. carpenters

By ROBERT WEST

SAN FRANCISCO—Carpenters in Northern California are learning some lessons the hard way.

Their first lesson was about the meaning of the term "inoperative." For that in effect is what Washington has termed an agreement the carpenters secured through strike action in 1971.

A wage increase of 65 cents an hour and a pension boost of 25 cents an hour were due and payable June 16 this year. It had been approved by the Construction Industry Stabilization Committee after the 1971 strike. This committee now finds the agreement and its previous approval "inoperative," and informally suggests that the carpenters renegotiate their agreement and settle for only a 15 cent wage increase.

This has been rejected by the carpenters union representatives from Northern California.

The Stabilization Committee has refused to let the original increase go through. But many contractors included the 90 cent total increase in checks, took out taxes due, and then withheld the increase, making the net checks

smaller than before June 16.

This could be called the carpenters' Lesson No. 2 and titled "New Economic Policy" accounting.

Matters finally came to a head when, after five months of fruitless trips to Washington, and marking time in California, union officials representing the carpenters of 46 Northern California counties scheduled a series of regional meetings to tell the ranks what had happened to their expected wage increases.

One of the first and most important of these meetings was held Nov. 10 in San Francisco. Notices of the meeting were mailed out on the Tuesday before the Friday meeting in plain, unmarked envelopes that looked like just another piece of junk mail.

Not a word was leaked to the media of this important meeting. In fact, outside of the careless and casual mailing on the eve of the meeting, little was leaked to the carpenters either.

The meeting itself brought together some 3,000 out of a possible 18,000 members. What happened there brought home to many the dismal facts of life regarding the union and its "leadership."

Three officials of the Carpenters 46 Northern Counties Conference Executive Committee ran the meeting. Beginning by warning that tape recorders were not to be used, and that they could not answer any questions from the floor, they proceeded to read the exchange of letters between themselves and Washington.

After they groaned on for an hour, it became clear they had nothing of importance to say. Up to this point the membership listened patiently and quietly, trying to understand the real meaning behind the legalities parroted by the officials on the platform.

Suddenly the spell was broken and one of those rare and exhilarating moments crystallized when the ranks grasped the impotence and strange paralysis of the officials on the platform.

It began with a few shouted demands for their resignation, and rose to a storm of derision when an official told the carpenters to write their congressmen.

Young militants rushed the platform and seized the mike. The officials grabbed their coats and hats and left

in a hurry.

For the Bay Area at least, a new chapter was opening up in the carpenters union. An old generation of union officials—demoralized, cynical, concerned primarily with their private interests—was being subjected to a decisive test.

The officials fled the platform feeling confident that all the levers of power were in their hands, strengthened and refined over many decades of bureaucratic rule. The angry and hostile outbreak of the militants at the meeting reflected the outrage and disgust of thousands of carpenters who feel betrayed by a cabal of thieves in Washington and a clique of impotent officials at home.

This reality is now thrust upon the consciousness of the largest aggregate of construction workers in the country. It guarantees a struggle both within the union and with the contractor and government boards on the outside.

For this, an entirely new team of leaders must be assembled. This becomes the central problem facing the carpenters of the 46 northern counties of California.



'Last bastion against Godless communism'

Massacre in Rome. Directed by George Pan Comatos. National General Pictures. Starring Richard Burton and Marcello Mastroianni.

Despite its generally poor notices, *Massacre in Rome* is worth seeing.

Richard Burton is especially persuasive as the Nazi officer charged with executing 300 Italian civilians in retaliation for an attack on SS troops committed by the partisan underground. It is Burton's best role in a long time.

Also compelling is Marcello Mastroianni as Burton's opposite. Mastroianni plays a Catholic priest who struggles to halt the impending Nazi atrocity.

It is true that the film deals with themes that can easily become clichés. For Burton the problem

Film

is one of duty: how to reconcile the horrifying assignment with political realities and his own conscience. For Mastroianni the problem is even greater: how to prevent the Nazi executions within the confines of his loyalty to the Church.

What is convincing about the movie is that neither conflict is resolved.

Burton becomes increasingly trapped as the film progresses. At each stage the moral imperative to halt comes into more glaring contradiction with the methodical carrying out of the murderous task Burton undertakes. But it is only at the last moment that the full scope of the horror completely reveals itself to the SS official.

The trap closes around Mastroianni in one fell swoop and to his surprise. The priest ultimately succeeds in forcing Pope Pius XII to consider a personal intervention to halt the execution. But Mastroianni is then informed by a superior official that the pope will not intervene. The superior tells Mastroianni, "however evil the Nazis are, they are our last bastion against Godless communism" (the position in fact held by the pope, which is why he also refused to intervene against the extermination of Jews in Germany).

The execution cannot be stayed, and Mastroianni reels toward a helpless death.

A secondary theme of the movie is the alleged conflict between art and politics: even (or especially?) the Nazis enjoy the artistry of Rome. Thankfully, this theme is not resolved either.

—DICK ROBERTS

Death at Buffalo Creek

Death at Buffalo Creek by Tom Nugent. W. W. Norton & Co. New York, 1973. 191 pp. cloth \$5.95.

On Feb. 26, 1972, in the early morning hours, the garbage dump—euphemistically called a "dam"—caved in. The cave-in sent 135 million gallons of water, in a 50-foot wave, down the deep gulch formed by the Buffalo Creek in West Virginia. More than 5,000 people lived on the sides of this creek. When the flood was over, 125 of them were dead. And everything in the path of the raging water was destroyed—homes, garages, churches, schools, and hospitals.

The dam was owned and operated by the Buffalo Mining Company—a subsidiary of the giant Pittston Company, which is in turn owned by oil interests.

Books

The bursting of this "dam" brought in its wake a half-dozen government inquiries. The buck-passing that resulted is still going on. But the people who survived the flood are not accepting any of the far-fetched excuses sucked out of the thumbs of the members of the Department of Interior's Bureau of Mines, or the Senate labor committee, or the equally far-out explanations offered by the state of West Virginia.

Tom Nugent, a free-lance reporter for the *Detroit Free Press*, covered the story and has written a book that makes you live that flood.

He tells stories of awakened parents who grabbed their babies and tried for high land, only to have the babies snatched out of their arms by the raging water; of a man who refused to believe his 4-year-old son was dead and finally found him, still alive, covered with black oily gob; of a woman who lost one baby saving another and who now is a patient in a mental institution.

This part, two-thirds of the book, tells stories of amazing human bravery. At the same time it shows the callous disregard for human life displayed by both the Logan County sheriff's office and the National Guard—who paid more attention not to hurt the political feelings of the coal barons and their hirelings than they did in warning the people of the on-coming flood.

The last third of the book demonstrates the usual method the federal and state governments use for calming the population in a national disaster—committees of investigation, one on top of the other, all (except the state committee) in basic agreement, but none with any "power or money" to do anything.

Each of the federal investigating bodies came to the same conclusion: that none of the 900 so-called "dams" in the southwestern Appalachian area are dams at all in the engineering sense. They are garbage piles.

When the coal is mined, it is washed before being loaded into the freight cars. Sludge, slate, and other debris are separated from the coal in this washing process.

The state of West Virginia has antipollution laws



Homeless flood victims.

that forbid the dumping of this blackened water into running streams. So the coal operators dump it over the creek beds, building up piles of gunk, layer upon layer, until a retaining wall, or impoundment, is created. Lakes form behind these impoundments. When heavy rains come, the lakes fill up and the water seeps through the dams, causing weakening of the walls, slipping of the embankments, and shifting of the unstable bottom material.

These dams are illegal under West Virginia law. Permits are supposed to be obtained and regular inspection carried out, if the impoundments are more than 10 feet deep. Hearings on the Buffalo Creek disaster established that no permits for the dam had been applied for or granted; no inspection had been carried out by either the coal company or the Bureau of Mines.

The Pittston Company did not even tell the surviving victims it was sorry for the tragedy. Two weeks after the event, the company told a reporter that the flood was "an act of God."

For many, the classic answer to this argument came from an elderly woman who told one corporation lawyer: "Tell me, Sonny, did you ever see God riding a bulldozer?"



Buffalo Creek aftermath.

The company did offer its condolences to those who had lost family members and promised aid in cleaning up the destruction. They also opened a claims office—with a top offer of \$10,000 for each "wrongful death."

The Buffalo Creek victims, however, have formed their own committee and filed suit for \$50-million.

It was not only lives that were destroyed when the dam burst. Since the United Mine Workers union came to the area, bringing higher wages, coal miners no longer live in company-owned shacks, or buy the necessities of life from the company store with scrip. The miners have acquired decent homes, TVs and radios, washing machines, and sometimes two cars.

Now these once-luxuries are all gone, buried in the mud. The miners and their families want to go back to living like human beings again.

The Pittston Company, which enjoyed profits of \$43-million in 1971, is convinced that it won't lose a cent on the victims' claims. Since its subsidiary has \$25-million in liability insurance, the company has already assured its stockholders that "the ultimate effect of such claims should not be material in relation to [Pittston's] consolidated financial position."

Nugent's book is filled with more information, far too much to encapsule in this review.

Wayne Brady Hatfield, a coal miner all of his life, wrote a ballad with which Nugent fittingly opens his book. (Hatfield is a descendant of "Devil Anse Hatfield," who led the deadly feud with the McCoys.) Wayne Hatfield lost everything and everybody near and dear to him in the flood.

His ballad ends:

"Now the company can kill whoever they please:
Away with the people—our insurance will pay!
Back home, back home, down on Buffalo
creek . . .

Now it's so sad and alone."

—MARVEL SCHOLL

Anti-Nixon sentiment spurs Militant sales

By NANCY COLE

This is the final week of *The Militant's* fall sales campaign. We fell short with our Nov. 9 issue (front-page headline: "What Alternative to the Nixon gang?") of our weekly goal of selling 9,500 copies.

Nevertheless, many areas surpassed their quotas. They report good sales at union meetings, in the Black community, and at shopping centers and bus stations.

The high sales are due to the widespread disgust with the Nixon administration, according to sellers.

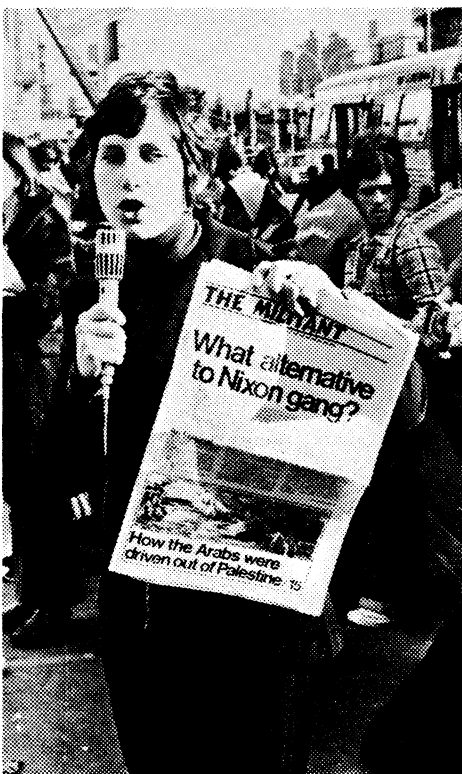
Supporters sold 131 *Militants* in one evening at the New York City Port Authority Bus Terminal. A crowd of 50 gathered around Lower Manhattan salesman Ron Wolin, who asked if anyone there supported Nixon. Only one person spoke up.

Militant sellers were also at strike meetings and other labor meetings getting out *The Militant's* plan of action for fighting inflation. Denver supporters sold 40 *Militants* at a Retail Clerks' strike meeting, Upper West Side sold 10 at a *Daily News* strike meeting, San Francisco sold 24 at a carpenters' meeting, and Chicago sold 15 at a teachers union meeting.

The sales campaign will officially end with next week's sales, but hundreds of supporters will continue to be out every week distributing *The Militant's* news and analysis. Now is

an appropriate time to start thinking about sales in the coming winter months.

Denver had a preview last week of what's to come, with the first snow-storm of the season. Many sales loca-



Militant/Arthur Hughes
Eva Chertov, SWP candidate for New York city council in recent elections, displays Militant at street corner rally.

tions that have been tested this fall will prove to be even better in the winter—such as subway stations, airports, bus stations, and shopping malls.

Campus sales in cafeterias, libraries, and classroom buildings will offer opportunities to avoid bad weather. And going door-to-door in dormitories, off-campus housing, and housing projects, which many areas did in the subscription blitz weekends this fall, should net sales of both single copies and subscriptions in the winter.

This week we added Monsey, N. Y., to the scoreboard and also received orders for five new bundles—from Arkadelphia, Ark., Bloomsburg, Pa., Chapel Hill, N. C., Chico, Calif., and Waltham, Mass. To help in our effort to circulate *The Militant*, which we urge you to do, send in the coupon below.

Send me a weekly bundle of ____ (17 cents each; we bill you at the end of the month).

Name _____
Address _____
City _____
State _____ Zip _____
Send to The Militant, 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

AREA	GOAL	SOLD LAST WEEK	% SOLD
Atlanta	400	442	111
Austin	140	156	111
Seattle	400	432	108
Houston	450	466	104
San Diego	350	356	102
Lincoln, Me.	10	10	100
Lower Manhattan	450	451	100
Nashville	60	60	100
Pittsburgh	300	300	100
St. Louis	225	217	96
Amherst	35	33	94
Philadelphia	375	340	91
San Francisco	500	431	86
Denver	375	309	82
Detroit	400	325	81
Madison	50	39	78
Upper West Side	475	361	76
Oakland/Berkeley	900	675	75
Columbus, Ohio	50	36	72
Boston	700	491	70
Louisville	40	28	70
Bowling Green, Ohio	25	16	64
Chicago	700	450	64
Los Angeles	500	300	60
Indianapolis	50	29	58
Portland	300	165	55
Brooklyn	450	208	46
Twin Cities	425	192	45
Monsey, N. Y.	5	2	40
Cleveland	350	136	39
Washington, D. C.	350	125	36
TOTAL SOLD			
LAST WEEK	7,581		
GOAL	9,500		

Paper costs call for extra effort

Militant fund shoots over original goal

By ANDREA MORELL

We have surpassed our fund drive goal of \$20,000 one month ahead of the deadline! This week supporters sent in \$1,125, bringing the total contributed to the Militant Forty-fifth Anniversary Fund to \$20,288.

But our extra expenses due to the

newsprint shortage mean we must continue our fund campaign until Dec. 15 and raise several thousand dollars above our original goal to meet the cost of the heavier paper we are now using.

It costs us \$800 more to print a 24-page *Militant* on this heavier paper than a 28-page *Militant* on newsprint. This week's 32-page issue is costing

us \$1,067 more, not including the increased postage we have to pay.

Despite this expense, we decided to put out a 32-page issue so we could bring our readers an analysis of the elections, the special four-page feature on "Who Rules America?", and an analysis of the "energy crisis." We also wanted to continue our coverage of developments in the Mideast and in Chile. Many of the readers who have sent donations urged us to keep up our extensive coverage on these events (see Letters, page 12).

The anniversary fund is also paying the expenses of 14 traveling *Militant* and *Young Socialist* sales teams. A good illustration of the response on campus to these teams is the meeting organized at Shippensburg State College in Pennsylvania by the Philadelphia-D. C. team. Ninety students came to hear a talk on Watergate by team member Craig Landberg. More than 50 people signed up on the mailing list and seven students met afterwards to form a local of the Young Socialist Alliance.

This week our subscribers contributed \$109 to the fund drive. The remainder came from banquets in the Bay Area and Austin.

Two hundred and fifty people attended the Bay Area banquet—a record crowd. The event also celebrated the opening of a new Militant Forum hall and headquarters for the Socialist Workers Party and YSA in Berkeley. A collection of \$2,050 was taken, of which \$922 goes to the Militant fund.

Among the speakers at the banquet were Linda Jenness, 1972 SWP candidate for president; Barry Sheppard, SWP national organization secretary; and Bob Purcell, United Farm Workers East Bay coordinator. Howard Moore, attorney for Angela Davis at her trial, sent greetings to the

rally.

The Austin banquet heard Zafir Heydar, national treasurer of the Organization of Arab Students, commend *The Militant's* coverage of events in the Mideast. Harry Ring of *The Militant's* Southwest Bureau, and Jim Burfeind, former Austin SWP candidate for city council, also spoke. A collection raised \$94 for the Militant fund drive.

Complimentary copies of the special volume, *The Militant: 45 Years*

in the Struggle for Socialism, are being distributed at these banquets to contributors of \$45 or more to the anniversary fund. This beautifully bound book contains large reproductions of front pages from each year of *The Militant*.

Militant anniversary banquets are scheduled in many cities in the next few weeks. They will be an important opportunity to raise funds for *The Militant*. Don't miss the one in your city!

Help us publish

Help *The Militant* meet the soaring costs of newsprint, postage, and the other necessities. Donations from our supporters will enable us to keep publishing and continue to improve and expand our coverage.

Enclosed is my contribution of \$____. I would like to pledge \$____ weekly until Dec. 15.

Name _____
Address _____
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Make checks payable to The Militant 45th Anniversary Fund. Send to 14 Charles Lane, New York, N. Y. 10014.

SWP Statement Hits U.S. Govt. Mid-East Aims

Arab Freedom
Fight Hailed by
Nat'l Committee

THE MILITANT

PUBLISHED WEEKLY IN THE INTERESTS OF THE WORKING PEOPLE

Vol. 22, No. 1 NEW YORK, N. Y., MONDAY, JANUARY 7, 1973 Price 10 Cents

Eisenhower Asks Congress For War Power in Mid-East

Racists Use Violence and Frame-Ups To Combat Bus Integration Movement

Peace Pretenses Dropped As U.S. Seeks to Impose Rule Over Arab Nations



Kremlin Policies Failing In Hungary and Poland

By George Loran

JAN. 4 — Two months after the launching of its all-out military assault on revolutionary Budapest, the Kremlin has failed to achieve its two main objectives: to crush the Hungarian Revolution and to restore the Soviet Union's control over the country.

By John Thayer

Part of a page from Militant forty-fifth anniversary book. Readers who contribute \$45 or more to anniversary fund get complimentary copy of book.

'Fix' Is on in Rule 22 Fight

By John Thayer

Only the opening of Congress on January 8, 1973, will bring to a head the fight over the proposed amendment to the U.S. Constitution that would give the president the power to declare a national emergency without the approval of Congress.

Your 1980 Dollar Is Now Worth 50 Cents at Grocery

According to a CPI compilation, the dollar has lost 50 percent of its purchasing power since 1960. This means that the price of a basket of goods that cost \$100 in 1960 would cost \$200 today.

Calendar

BERKELEY

NO COPS ON CAMPUS: THE BERKELEY SCHOOL VICTORY. Speakers: Tim Brooks, Young Socialist Alliance; others. Fri., Nov. 23, 8 p.m. 1849 University Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (415) 548-0354.

DENVER

THE SOCIALIST ALTERNATIVE—WEEKEND OF DISCUSSION AND DEBATE. NOV. 23-24. Fri., Nov. 23, 8 p.m.: Who rules Nixon and how Nixon rules. Speakers: Ted Glickman, Joan Fuls, Young Socialist Alliance. Sat., Nov. 24, 10 a.m.: Behind the new Mideast war. Speaker: Dan Bremer, Socialist Party, and Marie Head, YSA; 1 p.m.: Dynamics of world revolution today. Speaker: Peter Seidman, Socialist Workers Party. 1203 California. \$2 for whole conference; \$1 per session. Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance. For more information call (303) 266-9431.

HOUSTON

'FROM CZAR TO LENIN.' A documentary film on the Russian revolution and a talk on the meaning of the Russian revolution today. Speaker: Phil Hardy. Fri., Nov. 23, 8 p.m. 3311 Montrose. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (512) 526-1082.

LOS ANGELES

'THE PEOPLE VS. WILLIE FARAH.' A film and speaker from the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Fri., Nov. 23, 8 p.m. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (213) 463-1917.

GALA BANQUET TO CELEBRATE THE 45th ANNIVERSARY OF THE MILITANT. Sat., Dec. 1. 1107 1/2 N. Western Ave. Gourmet meal, entertainment. Admission: \$6, students \$4. For more information call (213) 464-9759.

NASHVILLE

THE POLITICAL ECONOMY OF THE MIDEAST. Speaker from the Fisk Univ. Dept. of African-American Studies. Wed., Nov. 21, 7:30 p.m. Room 208 E. Carmichael Towers (corner 24th Ave. S and West End). Ausp: Young Socialist Alliance, Vanderbilt U. Afro-American Association, Vanderbilt U. New People's Coalition.

NEW YORK: LOWER MANHATTAN

'TEN DAYS THAT SHOOK THE WORLD.' Sergei Eisenstein's film classic to commemorate the 56th anniversary of the Russian revolution. Fri., Nov. 23, 8 p.m. 706 Broadway (near 4th St.), Eighth Floor. Donation: \$1. Ausp: Militant Forum. For more information call (212) 982-6051.

ST. LOUIS

ISSUES IN AMERICAN AND WORLD POLITICS: THE SOCIALIST VIEWPOINT. NOV. 30-DEC. 1. Fri., Nov. 30, 8 p.m.: Is ousting Nixon the solution? Speaker: Linda Jenness, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 1, 11 a.m.: Stopping police terror in the Black community. Speaker: Maceo Dixon, Young Socialist Alliance; 1:30 p.m.: Latin America—Revolution or the peaceful road? Speaker: Mirta Vidal, staff writer for The Militant; 4 p.m.: The Farm Workers' struggle—Background and current situation. Speaker: Gustavo Gutierrez, Chicago staff of UFW. All sessions at Washington Univ., Room 303-304, Mallinckrodt Center. Donation: \$3 for entire conf., 75c per session. Ausp: YSA. For more information call (314) 367-2520.

SAN FRANCISCO

THE FORGING OF THE SOCIALIST PROGRAM. A series of four classes on the development of revolutionary political ideas. Speaker: Dan Styron, national com-

mittee member of the Socialist Workers Party. Sat., Dec. 1, 10 a.m.: Socialist program against militarism and war; 1 p.m.: Reform or revolution; Sun., Dec. 2, 11 a.m.: Putschism, ultraleftism, and mass action; 2 p.m.: United front and the revolutionary party. Donation: 50c per session or \$1.50 for the series. Ausp: YSA & SWP. 1519 Mission St. For more information call (415) 864-9174.

...Kissinger

Continued from page 9

sion. Any who thinks that Israel will be weak and afraid after this war will be mistaken."

According to *Times* reporter Terence Smith, other Israeli officials were also taking a threatening tone, saying "that Israel would not wait long for the exchange of prisoners to begin."

As for the Kissinger plan, its author explained in Peking that Israel and Egypt still "have to negotiate some of the implementation of modalities," a process that is apparently still going on in Vietnam.

...returns

Continued from page 3

than in any mayor's race since 1929! The high rate of abstention in 1973 followed an extremely low turnout in the presidential election a year ago, when only 54 percent of the voting-age population went to the polls—the lowest percentage since 1948. The percentage of Black voters declined the most, continuing a trend since 1964.

What do the '73 results show about the condition of Nixon's widely touted "mandate" of a year ago?

In the 1972 campaign Nixon made racist appeals, denouncing busing, welfare "loafers," and protesters. He tried to rally support from the middle class and labor bureaucrats for his program of cutting back on social services. He appealed to reactionary sentiments with his attacks on "permissiveness" and his stands on abortion, capital punishment, and other social issues.

After his towering victory over McGovern, he claimed these views clearly represented the majority thinking. He claimed them as part of his "mandate."

Many thought Nixon was justified in this claim; they interpreted the elections as a reflection of a shift to the right in the population as a whole. But this superficial analysis left out the overriding issue of the 1972 cam-

paign and the real basis for Nixon's big victory: the war in Vietnam.

By November 1972, Nixon had withdrawn half a million of the troops sent there by his Democratic predecessor; he had traveled to Moscow and Peking and returned with agreement on detente and promises of "a generation of peace." True, the war was still going on, but Kissinger announced on the eve of the election that "peace is at hand." Most Americans thought Nixon would finally end the slaughter in Vietnam.

In short, the "mandate" was never what Nixon claimed it to be. It was a mandate to bring the hated war to a close.

Now there is growing resentment over continuing inflation; the seeming inability of the government to solve any of the problems confronting the American people, from the energy "crisis" to the problems of pollution and mass transit; and, of course, Watergate, which is eroding confidence in all capitalist politicians and both of the ruling parties.

It is this dissatisfaction, reflected every week in the polls on Watergate, and confirmed by the election results, that has both capitalist parties worried.

...Detroit

Continued from page 5

lower the age at which one can hold city office to 18.

Dixon is known in Detroit's Black community as one of the leaders of the fight to abolish STRESS. He campaigned for the expulsion of the police force from the Black community and its replacement by a force drawn from the Black community and run by elected councils.

In the running against Young, Dixon emphasized that Democratic and Republican party politics was a dead end for Black people. He noted that although these parties have been in power for decades, they have done nothing to end racial oppression.

Both Young and Dixon attended the National Black Political Convention in Gary, Ind., in March 1972. Young led a walkout by most of the Michigan delegation in protest against the radical tone of the gathering. Dixon, on the other hand, supported the sentiment among some of the delegates for launching an independent Black

political party and an end to supporting the Democrats.

In contrast to the Socialist Workers Party campaign, backed by the Young Socialist Alliance, the Communist Party and Young Workers Liberation League openly backed Democrat Coleman Young. CP and YWLL members worked as volunteers for Young, and the CP's newspaper, the *Daily World*, ran laudatory articles on Young's campaign, such as the one in its Nov. 1 issue with a front-page headline: "Young offers program for Detroit."

...Israel

Continued from page 10

support of full civil, cultural, and religious rights for all nationalities in the Mideast, including the Israeli Jews."

The struggles of the Jewish masses in Israel are also discussed in these articles. The nature of the Zionist state requires a growing militarization of all aspects of life in Israel, increasing infringements on democratic rights of Jews as well as of Arabs, ever-heavier economic sacrifices by the working class to pay for the Israeli war machine, and a constant rightward evolution in the internal politics of the country. Anti-Arab racism, which is endemic in Israel, spills over to Oriental Jews, who are discriminated against in jobs, housing, education, etc.

Struggles have erupted in all these areas. Such struggles, however, can only attain their goal if they are linked to support of the rights of the Palestinians and to the Arab revolution as a whole.

Within Israel and in the rest of the Middle East, it is necessary to build mass revolutionary Marxist parties able to carry out the perspective of socialist revolution outlined in these articles. It is this perspective that points the way forward for the Israeli Jews, the Arab peoples, and for the world as a whole.

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Oil trusts reap superprofits

The 'energy crisis': Nixon's latest fraud

By DICK ROBERTS

Across the country the heat is being turned down. President Nixon said the country can achieve a daytime average of 68 degrees. But this won't stop the industrialists and landlords from setting the thermostats much lower—for patriotic reasons of course.

And that is in keeping with the spirit of the "energy crisis." For the energy crisis is a profit-gouging fraud from top to bottom. It is a conspiracy by the most powerful monopolies in the United States (and the capitalist world)—the international petroleum cartel—to drive up the prices of energy.

President Nixon, whatever the blemishes on his record as a Watergater, is a 100 percent supporter and promoter of the oil interests. His Nov. 7 address to the nation is pretty much a guide to the oil monopolists' main aims.

- They want to whip up racist anti-Arab sentiment. "... our expectations for this winter have been sharply altered by the recent conflict in the Middle East," Nixon said.

- They want swift implementation of the \$20-billion Alaska oil pipeline project, regardless of the dangers to the ecology of the Northwest. "We must have the legislation now which will authorize construction of the Alaska pipeline," Nixon said.

- They want to reverse other ecological restrictions and make the taxpayer pay for any costs incurred. Nixon said that he wants to set up an agency that would "relax environmental regulations on a temporary case by case basis."

- The oil companies want to in-

crease the consumption of coal (they have bought up 30 percent of U.S. coal reserves), of uranium (they own 40 percent), and of natural gas (72 percent); they want to go after offshore oil (a further ecological threat) and to develop the oil in oil shales (with government subsidization).

Nixon said, "I'm asking the Atomic Energy Commission to speed up the licensing and construction of nuclear plants." (Ecological experts point to extreme dangers in rapid, and especially private, development of nuclear energy.)

- The only major aim of the oil giants that Nixon did not spell out in his speech is their effort to drive smaller gasoline retailers out of the market. Apparently the president's speech writers couldn't think of any way to prettify this aspect of the "energy crisis."

The oil trusts

In order to grasp the ability of a few giant firms to cook up the energy crisis on a national scale it is necessary to recall the commanding position in the U.S. economy and in American politics of the oil trusts.

Seven oil trusts—the notorious "seven sisters"—comprise the international petroleum cartel that has dominated world oil production throughout the twentieth century. Of these, five are American: Exxon, the largest U.S. corporation ranked in terms of assets; Texaco, third largest; Gulf, sixth largest; Mobil, seventh largest; and Standard Oil of Calif. (Socal), ninth. The total assets of these five firms in 1972, \$60-billion, is larger than the gross national product of most nations in the world.

The "seven sisters" own 70 percent of oil production and about 50 percent of refining capacity in the capitalist world.

Four of the five American-owned oil majors are controlled by the Rockefeller and Mellon families. These are the wealthiest sectors of the American ruling class. Their ability to buy and sell politicians is attested to every year as Congress maintains the "oil depletion allowance," tax loopholes for these trusts—although they are the most profitable monopolies of all!

Henry Kissinger is another example of oil power. Kissinger is a protégé of Nelson Rockefeller. Richard Nixon, as a Wall Street lawyer, acted on behalf of oil firms.

Middle East oil

It is the oil giants that own most of the oil in the Middle East. This fact somehow gets lost in reports on the "Arab oil boycott" and "Arab oil price increases."

Saudi Arabia is a good example. This country has by far the biggest known reserves of oil in the world,

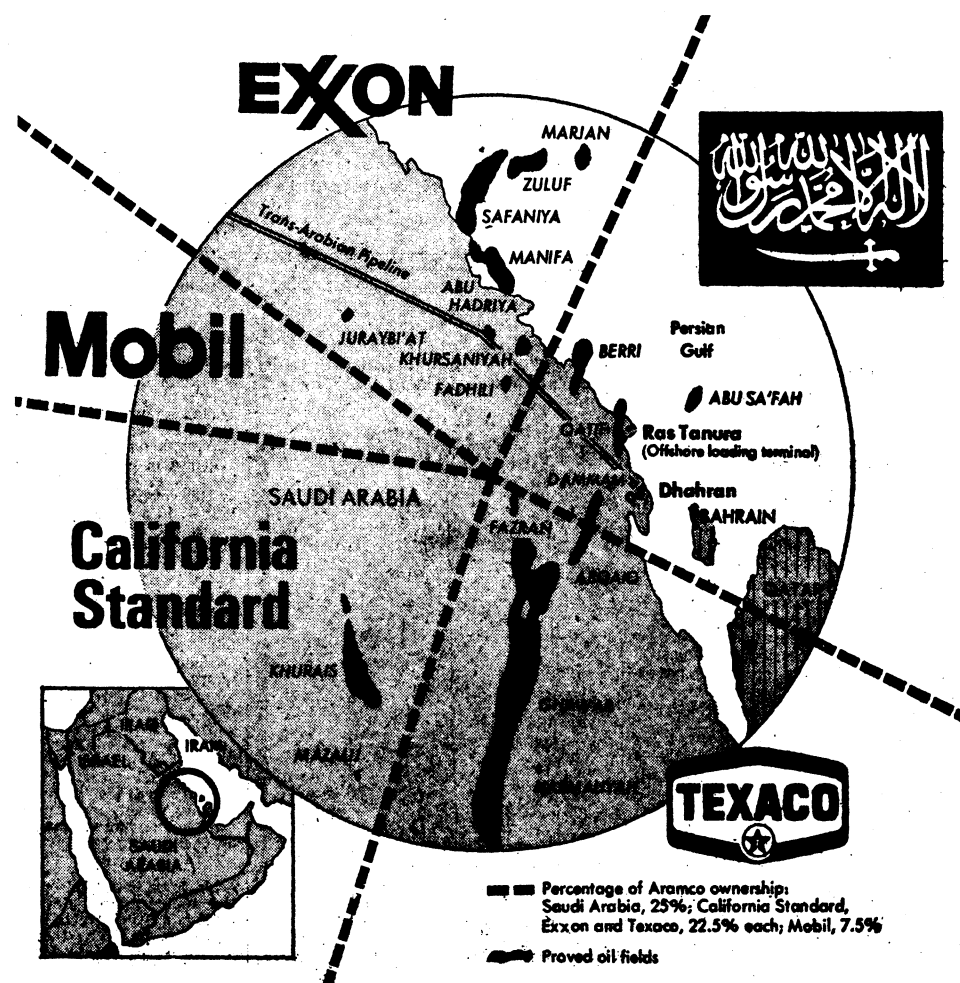


Chart shows who really owns Saudi Arabian oil. Oil monopolies' books should be opened to expose how they invented profitable 'energy crisis.'

and the published figures are probably well below the actual figures. Saudi Arabian oil is owned by the mighty (but little heard of!) Arabian American Oil Company (Aramco). Aramco, in turn, is 25 percent owned by the Saudi Arabian government; 75 percent owned by American majors—Exxon, Texaco, and California Standard, each 22.5 percent; and Mobil, 7.5 percent.

An idea of the fantastic profits from Aramco was hinted in the Nov. 4 *New York Times*. "Aramco is said to contribute 40 percent of Socal's profits, while it represents around 25 percent of Texaco's and some 20 percent of Mobil's and somewhat less of Exxon's." These figures suggest that something on the order of 10 to 15 percent of the total world profits of four of the five biggest oil trusts come from Saudi Arabia alone.

The oil monopolies are concerned about the increasing drive toward nationalization of their most lucrative holdings. They want to thwart Arab nationalism, to press back and destroy the most radical Arab movements, and to maintain the power of the reactionary sheiks. To do this they have a double-barreled policy.

On one side they support Israel. The maintenance of the Zionist settler-state on Arab homelands is a constant source of political instability in the

area. Israel is a bastion against the Palestinian liberation struggle.

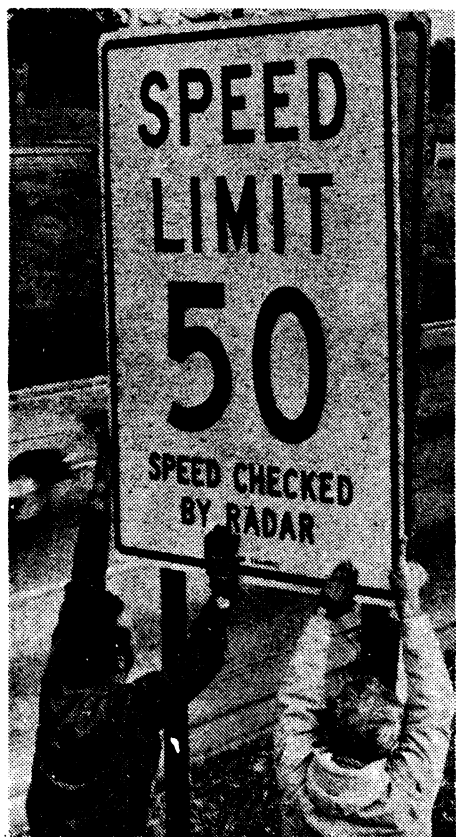
On the other side they support the more conservative Arab regimes, above all Saudi Arabia. Saudi Arabia has received hundreds of millions of dollars of U.S. aid in addition to the oil royalties that pour in from Aramco.

The "oil weapon" thus also turns out to be two-sided. On one side it is about the least Saudi Arabia can do to put pressure on the imperialists for getting concessions from Israel, in order to appease the Arab masses.

On the other side it fuels the energy crisis (contrived by the oil trusts to begin with); it drives up oil prices (and oil profits have never been higher); and this especially soaks Japan and the European countries most dependent on Middle East oil. Finally it allows the imperialists to whip up anti-Arab sentiment in this country.

They do this because they cannot rule out the "ultimate" necessity, from their standpoint—of sending in the marines. When Nixon brought the world closer to the brink of nuclear warfare last month, it was a grim reminder of the type of contingency plans in the war rooms of the Pentagon for protecting U.S. interests in the Middle East.

U.S. News & World Report said
Continued on page 22



Proposal to lower speed limits is cover-up for highway robbery of consumers.